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FROM

The Society

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

1

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

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APRIL 1902—APRIL 1903.



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1904.

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CONTENTS.

| | PAGE. |
|--------------|-------|
| NOTE..... | vii. |
| ERRATA | viii. |

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 30, 1902.

| | |
|--|-----|
| PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING | 1 |
| REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>Henry S. Nourse</i> | 7 |
| MARY GRIFFIN AND HER CREED. <i>Egbert C. Smyth</i> | 9 |
| REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN | 25 |
| <i>Givers and Gifts</i> | 38 |
| GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY. <i>Austin S. Garver</i> | 51 |
| A BIT OF UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE. <i>E. Harlow Russell</i> .. | 58 |
| THE KING ALFRED MILLENNIAL. <i>Edwin D. Mead</i> | 70 |
| GOSNOLD AT CUTTYHUNK. <i>Edward E. Hale</i> | 98 |
| BREWSTER AUTOGRAPH IN WISCONSIN. <i>James D. Butler</i> | 103 |

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1902.

| | |
|---|-----|
| PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING | 107 |
| REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>William B. Weeden</i> | 129 |
| THREE COMMONWEALTHS, MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, RHODE ISLAND; THEIR EARLY DEVELOPMENT. <i>William B. Weeden</i> . | 130 |
| REPORT OF THE TREASURER | 165 |
| REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN | 173 |
| <i>Givers and Gifts</i> | 188 |
| A FEW NOTES ON THE SHAYS REBELLION. <i>John Noble</i> | 200 |
| THE CONNECTICUT COMPROMISE. <i>George F. Hoar</i> | 233 |
| THE PAINTED ROCKS OF LAKE CHELAN. <i>William D. Lyman</i> | 259 |
| SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL | 263 |
| SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL | 267 |

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 29, 1903.

| | |
|--|-----|
| PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING | 271 |
| REPORT OF THE COUNCIL. <i>Nathaniel Paine</i> | 287 |
| OBITUARY | 316 |
| ✓ SOME LETTERS, ETC., OF JOHN HANCOCK AND THOMAS CUSHING. | |
| <i>Allen C. Thomas</i> | 324 |
| REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN..... | 341 |
| <i>Givers and Gifts</i> | 354 |
| THE FUND AT BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND. <i>Andrew McFarland</i> | |
| <i>Davis</i> | 368 |
| ✓ THE NAVIGATION OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER, <i>W. DeLoss Love</i> . | 385 |
| DID SIR THOMAS BROWNE WRITE "FRAGMENT ON MUMMIES" ? | |
| <i>Samuel Swett Green</i> | 442 |
| PORTRAIT OF JOHN BELLOWS | 448 |

N O T E .

The Fifteenth volume, new Series, contains the Proceedings of the Meetings of the Society from April 30, 1902, to April 29, 1903, inclusive. Also the proceedings of the Council at Special Meetings called to take action on the deaths of J. Evarts Greene and John D. Washburn.

The reports of the Council, with accompanying papers, have been by Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden and Nathaniel Paine.

Valuable contributions have also been made by Egbert C. Smyth, Austin S. Garver, E. Harlow Russell, Edwin D. Mead, Edward E. Hale, James D. Butler, John Noble, George F. Hoar, William D. Lyman, Allen C. Thomas, Andrew McF. Davis, William DeLoss Love, and Samuel S. Green. There are also obituary notices of J. Evarts Greene, John D. Washburn, William Wirt Henry and Michael Charles O'Brien.

The usual index to this volume has been prepared by the Librarian and his assistant, Miss Mary G. Whitcomb.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

ERRATA.

- Page 5, line 2, for *Isaac Hecker* read *Isaac T. Hecker*.
Page 31, line 14, for *Le* read *La*.
Page 34, line 20, for *Rockwood* read *Potter*.
Page 40, line 10, for *Charles Vedder* read *Charles S. Vedder*.
Page 41, line 22, for *Bunford, Samuel* read *Samuel, Bunford*.
Page 48, line 9, for *Newbury* read *Newberry*.
Page 48, line 39, for *17th* read *70th*.
Page 110, line 21, for *Merriam* read *Merriman*.
Page 110, line 23, for *McDonald* read *MacDonald*.
Page 190, lines 6 and 7, for *Charles Sumner and the Treaty of Washington*
read *the Alasko-Canadian Frontier*.
Page 191, lines 13 and 14, for *Alasko-Canadian Frontier* read *Journal of*
Capt. Nathaniel Dwight.
Page 290, line 7, for *Mathew* read *Mather*.
Page 290, line 9, for *Timothy Bigelow* read *Colonel Timothy Bigelow*.
Page 307, line 18, for *G. Washington* read *Go. Washington*.
Page 310, line 11, for *Rebelliard* read *Rebelliad*.
Page 342, line 4, for *Odd Volume Club* read *Club of Odd Volumes*.
Page 365, line 25, for *Timothy Bigelow* read *Colonel Timothy Bigelow*.

Apr

PROCEEDINGS

APRIL 17 1902

American Antiquarian Society.

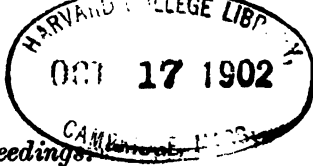
IN 1902

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON.

APRIL 30, 1902



BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, U. S. A.
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1902



April, 1902.]

Proceedings.

1

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 30, 1902, AT THE HALL OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

THE meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M., by the
President, HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, of Worcester.
The report of the annual meeting was read by the
RECORDING SECRETARY.

The following members were present:

Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine,
Horace Davis, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green,
Elijah B. Stoddard, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C.
Smyth, Edward H. Hall, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M.
Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Charles A. Chase, Samuel
S. Green, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Henry
S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Henry H. Edes, James
Phinney Baxter, A. George Bullock, William E. Foster,
Charles P. Greenough, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins,
Carroll D. Wright, Henry A. Marsh, Rockwood Hoar,
James L. Whitney, William T. Forbes, George H.
Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln, George B.
Adams, Austin S. Garver, A. Lawrence Rotch, Francis
Blake, Edward H. Gilbert, E. Harlow Russell, Benjamin
T. Hill, Henry F. Jenks, Edmund A. Engler.

The report of the Council was presented by Hon.
HENRY S. NOURSE of Lancaster. In the same connection
a paper entitled "Mary Griffin and her Creed," was read
by Rev. Dr. EGBERT C. SMYTH of Andover.

Vice-President GEORGE F. HOAR said :

"I would like to call attention to one fact suggested by Dr. Smyth's very interesting paper. It is a fact with which he is very familiar, I am sure, and so are most of the scholars of this Society. But it is not commonly known and not stated by historians. It is that in the Puritan generation there were many persons who confined their statement of the essence of Christian doctrine to two or three simple affirmations. This interesting example of Mary Griffin in Bradford Church is by no means solitary among our Puritan ancestors even in the day when Cotton Mather was dominant. There are very important examples of it in the Established Church, although Bishops like Laud and Bancroft, from whose fury John Milton said our fathers fled, were in power. There we find instances of great liberality, not only among scholars and among men whose lives were secluded but also in places of power. We find them in high authority in the English Church, notably in Jeremy Taylor, although he lays emphasis on ceremonials and vestments and doctrinal statements which may seem inconsistent with the liberty of prophecy which he so powerfully advocated. This was also true of Herbert and Donne and the company of men of letters to which they belonged, some of whose lives Izaak Walton wrote. I happened, the other day upon George Herbert's poem 'Divinitie,' which I would like to read."

DIVINITIE.

As men, for fear the starres should sleep and nod,
And trip at night, have spheres suppli'd
As if a starre were duller than a clod,
Which knows his way without a guide:

Just so the other heav'n they also serve,
Divinities transcendent skie:
Which with the edge of wit they cut and carve
Reason triumphs, and faith lies by.

Could not that wisdom, which first brought the wine,
Have thicken'd it with definitions?
And jag'd his seamlesse coat, had that been fine,
With curious questions and divisions?

But all the doctrine, which he taught and gave,
Was cleare as heav'n, from whence it came.
At least those beams of truth, which onely save,
Surpasse in brightnesse any flame.

*Love God, and love your neighbor. Watch and pray.
Do as you would be done unto.*
O dark instructions, ev'n as dark as day!
Who can these Gordian knots undo?

But he doth bid us take his bloud for wine.
Bid what he please; yet I am sure,
To take and taste what he doth there designe,
Is all that saves and not obscure.

Then burn thy Epicycles. foolish man;
Break all thy spheres, and save thy head;
Faith needs no staffe of flesh, but stoutly can
To heav'n alone both go, and leade.

The Librarian, Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, read his report, after which, by vote of the Society, the report of the Council was referred to the Committee of Publication.

The names of the two following gentlemen were proposed by the Council for election to membership:

William Dennison Lyman, A. M.

Professor of civics, history and economics in Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington.

Henry Smith Pritchett, Ph.D., LL.D.,

President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Boston.

A ballot was taken by the Society and the gentlemen were declared elected.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN remarked:

"The sound of Dr. Hale's voice and remarks that were made by Mr. Nourse and the librarian remind me that in

1853 there was held in New York a meeting of more than eighty librarians and other persons interested in libraries, from all parts of the United States. After that date I am not aware that there was any general meeting of librarians until the time of the Exposition in Philadelphia, in 1876. Of those eighty or more persons who attended that first 'Librarians' Convention,' I understand that at least eight are living, and of that number two are distinguished members of this society, Daniel Coit Gilman and Edward Everett Hale. The convention was presided over by Dr. Charles C. Jewett, who was afterwards first superintendent of the Public Library in Boston. He had a plan for co-operative cataloguing, by stereotyping the titles of books, and keeping them in a common centre where they could be used as wanted. The matter to which I wish to call attention is this, that Dr. Jewett, in giving an explanation of his plan, stated that practical printers had told him it would be impossible for him to carry out the plan, because he could not have single titles stereotyped. He said that he had been enabled to overcome obstacles, and show that single titles could be stereotyped, by the aid of Mr. Hale of Worcester. Dr. Hale is the son of Nathan Hale, LL.D., a gentleman who conducted *The Boston Daily Advertiser* for a great many years, and I understand that he made himself an adept in the art of printing. Perhaps the practical knowledge thus obtained and an inherited interest may have enabled him to make the suggestions which Dr. Jewett found so timely. I bring this matter forward only as another instance of the versatility and usefulness of the man for whom we have all been seeking lately to express our appreciation, and whom we all admire and love."

Rev. AUSTIN S. GARVER of Worcester read a paper on "Archaeology in Greece," dealing with the subject from the standpoint of a tourist.

Some unpublished correspondence between Henry D. Thoreau and Isaac Hecker was presented by Prof. E. HARLOW RUSSELL of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester.

The President announced that a year ago at this time the approaching Millennial of King Alfred's death occasioned the appointment of a committee to represent this Society at the exercises; that John Fiske, who was one of the committee appointed, was removed from life before the event occurred, and that EDWIN D. MEAD would say something to the Society today in regard to the celebration. Mr. MEAD read a paper which is printed with the proceedings of this meeting.

Vice-President EDWARD E. HALE, referring to the approaching celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the landing of Gosnold at Cuttyhunk, to be held at that place on May 24th, read a paper suggesting that from the island of Cuttyhunk was drawn the local coloring for the island in Shakespeare's "Tempest."

A communication from Dr. JAMES D. BUTLER of Madison, Wisconsin, in reference to the "Brewster Autograph of Wisconsin," was read by Prof. Franklin B. Dexter. It was stated that there are two signatures in Yale College, but that the autograph found by Dr. Butler is a much more interesting one than that in Yale College, as it is a firmer signature. It was suggested by Dr. HALE that it might be well to know that in the indexes the name is often spelled Bruster as well as Brewster.

The President announced that the Society was in receipt of a valuable gift from Mr. Daniel Murray, of the Library of Congress, being a diary of Paul Jennings, from which the Recording Secretary read some extracts. The title of the work is "Jennings, Paul, A colored man's reminiscences of James Madison." Paul Jennings was a slave,

and he wrote his own biography, which included a good deal about Madison, whose slave he was. Jennings was born a slave on the Madison estate about 1799. Jennings married Fanny Gordon, who had been raised in Zachary Taylor's family. He was a body servant to Mr. Madison, and when he died served Daniel Webster in the same capacity. Webster bought him of Mrs. Madison with the agreement that he should work out the purchase price at a fixed rate, after which he should be free. Mr. Murray's paper, while devoted in a great measure to Jennings and his story, has extracts from other writers, and treats of subjects of interest in the time of Jennings. His account of the taking of Washington is graphic and entertaining.

Dr. HALE inquired, on behalf of a distinguished officer in the Navy, whether any of the gentlemen present knew the name of the officer who surrendered the Chesapeake.

All the papers presented were referred to the Committee of Publication, and the meeting was dissolved. The members afterwards partook of lunch at the Hotel Somerset.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE doings of the Council at the several meetings held during the past six months, though not unimportant, require but brief record :

The Society, at its last meeting, authorized the appointment of a Biographer, who should be responsible for the presentation of appropriate biographies of deceased members, for timely publication in the Proceedings. The Council has selected Jeremiah Evarts Greene, B.A., for this position, and he has accepted the office, and entered upon its delicate and important duties.

The committee appointed to arrange for the celebration, on April 3, at Symphony Hall, Boston, of the eightieth birthday of our rejuvenescent Vice-President, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D.D., included nearly a score of the members of this Society ; and our First Vice-President left his desk at Washington to honor the occasion, paying tribute in an eloquent address to his, ours, everybody's friend, the poet, the preacher, the philanthropist, the orator, the historian, the story-teller, the prophet of good hope, the teacher of good cheer. To the formal invitation of the committee in charge of this spontaneous expression of affection and reverence, the Council responded by the appointment of the President, Hon. Stephen Salisbury, A.M., the Treasurer, Nathaniel Paine, A.M., and the Recording Secretary, Charles Augustus Chase, A.M., to represent officially the Society on that occasion ; which pleasant duty they duly performed.

In accordance with a vote of the Council, the President and Recording Secretary have united in a memorial to the

Massachusetts Legislature, urging favorable consideration of a bill pending, which provides for the preservation by printing of town records of births, marriages and deaths previous to 1850.

By the death of V. Rev. Michael Charles O'Brien of Bangor, Me., and Henry Hitchcock, LL.D., of St. Louis, Mo., two vacancies in our membership are to be filled, for which nominations will be made to-day.

The continued financial prosperity of the Society and the steadily increasing value and usefulness of the Library will appear in the reports of the Treasurer and Librarian, which form a part of this report.

MARY GRIFFIN AND HER CREED.

BY EGBERT C. SMYTH.

IN looking over a pamphlet containing matter from the Records of the First Church of Christ in Bradford, Mass.,¹ my attention was specially attracted to the following entries :

From the "Records of Baptisms": "27 of 8, 1695. The wife of John Griffin of Bradford was baptized. She had waited near a one half of a year. I made a short speech to her. See ye conclusion. After my sermon on 1st Psalm 1:2, I read ye Apostle's [*sic?*] creed, She expressing her assent. I omitted prayer (before administration) after I proposed the church Covenant (the Brethren's vote having preceded) to which she assented, and declared her to be a member of this particular church — that ye door of it should stand open to her for further communion upon her desire.

"I publicly declared that I judged an Adult person should be baptized before admission into a particular church.

"Mary Griffin was accepted to full communion upon the terms before mentioned, she manifesting her desire, and I declaring ye same to ye church, waiting some time to see, no objection was brought against her." (P. 54.)

"27 of 8, 1695. John Griffin answering to ye substance ye 4 or 5 questions proposed to others, had his son baptized." (P. 55.)

From the "Roll of Membership": "'95 or '96. Mary

¹ *Articles of Faith and Covenant adopted by the First Church of Christ in Bradford, Mass., With its Standing Rules and Practical Principles, A Catalogue of its Officers and Members, From its First Organisation, in 1682, up to 1885, And an Appendix Containing Facts in its History.* Haverhill, Mass.: C. C. Morse & Son, Book and Job Printers, 1886.

Griffing was accepted to full communion." (P. 12.) The name of her husband does not appear in the list as printed.

This appearance of the Apostles' Creed so near the beginnings of one of our older Massachusetts churches, and in precisely the relation to baptism and membership which belongs to its primitive use, is rather picturesque and suggestive. Perhaps it will seem to others as it did to me when I first saw it,—something of a surprise. It has led to some inquiries as to the appreciation or recognition of this Creed in our history; and since, so far as I am aware, this subject has not before been treated, it has seemed desirable to present for consideration here what I have gathered, although the investigation is still quite incomplete, and the information obtained may be susceptible of much supplementing or enlargement. The value of the paper, if it have any, will be mainly that of promoting further inquiry. If time permit I will include in it at least some reference to the results of recent researches into the origin and history of the Creed and to its wider use.

I desire to express my special obligations in the investigation to Mr. Wilberforce Eames, Mr. Edmund M. Barton, Mr. Fisher Howe, and the Rev. William H. Cobb, D.D.

I have referred to the use of the Apostles' Creed in the church of Bradford, so early as 1695, as something surprising. There is nothing apparently in the character or history of this church to explain it. Bradford was, until 1675, a part of Rowley, where Ezekiel Rogers had powerfully impressed himself on the entire community. When accosted by a stranger, passing through the town, with the inquiry, "Are you, Sir, the person who *serves* here?" he is said to have replied, "I am, Sir, the person who *rules* here."¹ His Catechism, to which I shall refer again, shows no trace of the Creed. It is rather, beyond others, the precursor of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism.² He has been called "the

¹ Gage's *History of Rowley*, p. 18.

² Mitchell: *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, p. xxxii.

clerical pioneer of Bradford," and "a Puritan of the Puritans." Across the Merrimac, in Haverhill, had been completed the long and influential ministry of the Rev. John Ward. Most of the original members of the Bradford church had been taught by him. Its minister, who writes the record before us, was a son of Rev. Zechariah Symmes of Charlestown, the friend of Mr. Rogers of Rowley, and it is supposed that to this intimacy Bradford owed its first Pastor.¹ He belonged to a family which for several generations had been warmly enlisted in the Puritan cause. He graduated at Harvard (1657) at the head of his class, and was a Fellow of the College when under the presidency of Charles Chauncy. His ordination at Bradford was attended by such men as John Higginson of Salem, Hubbard of Ipswich, Hale of Beverly, Brock of Reading, Edward Payson and Samuel Phillips of Rowley. But a short time before (1679, 1680) the Reforming Synod had approved, "for the main," the Westminster and Savoy Confessions of Faith, and had emphasized as "requisite" for admission to "Communion in the Lord's Supper . . . a personal and publick profession of . . . Faith and Repentance, either orally, or in some other way, as shall be to the just satisfaction of the Church." Catechising had been a marked feature of the religious history of the towns and parishes from the beginning. "Thanks be to God," wrote Francis Higginson of Salem as early as 1629, "we have here plenty of preaching and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise."² In 1681, the year before Mr. Symmes was ordained, and the church was organized for which he had for several years been preparing the way, the town "voted and consented to that ye Revt. Mr. Zech. Symmes have liberty at his discretion to call out any two men of ye inhabitants of ye town to be with him in catechizing ye youth, and to go with him

¹ Cogswell: *History of Essex Co., Mass.*, p. 2089; Kingsbury: *Memorial History of Bradford*, p. 13. ² *N. Eng. Plantation (Mass. Hist. Coll., 1, 124)*.

to see who of heads of families or others will join to ye church." ¹

As a religious movement the Great Reformation begun by Martin Luther was an awakening of conscience,—more specifically, an intensifying of the sense of personal guilt,—and a conviction that the Gospel of Christ offers and assures to the individual believer the peace of forgiven sin.

This experience involved and produced a greatly augmented conception of personality. Guilt is a personal thing. The craving for a divine attestation of forgiveness, not through forms and ordinances merely, not by sacramental rites simply, not by a priesthood, but by a "Thus saith the Lord,"—this craving is already a quickened consciousness of personal relations to a personal God. It implies personal duties and personal rights,—the great right, for instance, of private judgment, the right to the word of God.

The Gospel, moreover, it was held, is revealed in Sacred Scripture. The Bible became, as never before, the sufficient, the only rule of faith and practice.

Absorbed in a profound study of this divine Word,—one that commands still the admiration of scholars,—and guided by an instinct of organization and leadership paralleled only in instances of highest powers of statesmanship, John Calvin, with a singular clearness of vision and a concentration of purpose beyond that of the great father of Latin theology, seized upon the doctrine of God's absolute sovereignty, and with this gave to a militant Puritanism a strength and solidity of purpose, a heroism of endurance and courage, which nothing could subdue or even appall. It made Cromwell's Ironsides, nerved the Pilgrims for their yet more exacting contest with unseen and deadly foes, gave Massachusetts the sword of the spirit and the sword of steel with which it sought and won the peace of freedom under righteous law.

With these principles and inspirations, inherited from

¹ *Articles of Faith and Covenant, etc., etc.*, p. 64.

the first reformers, came in, partly in reaction from the rigor of Calvinism, a modified conception of the one Sovereign of all, and of His method of governing His responsible subjects.

The Genevan school, after its great leader had gone, scholasticized his teachings. Everything was subjected to the most exact analysis, combination and deduction possible through the processes of a formal and rigorous logic. Men turned from this abstract schematizing anew to the Scriptures. Retaining the principle of sovereignty, they saw it revealing itself through the method of *historical covenants*. This systemizing again became formal, and seemed more and more unreal. But at first it was a phase of progress, a working factor in the great struggle which was going on for human rights and larger freedom. So far as I am able definitely to trace it—there is suggestion of something earlier—it first formally appears in religious instruction in a catechism composed by Bullinger,—chief pastor at Zurich, and successor of Zwingli,—for the purpose of indoctrinating the more advanced pupils in the *Schola Tigurina*. Its title page bears the date 1563; the preface, 1559. Section third has the title: *De fœdere Dei quod pepigit Deus cum hominibus et de vero Dei cultu*. For the conception of man as a creature subject to a sovereign will, came in the estimate of him as a being with whom the Almighty Ruler makes covenants. The thought spread and was expanded. In the first half of the seventeenth century it made itself widely effective. It was caught up by the Puritans, and gained a triumph in the Westminster confession and catechisms. It ran parallel, as it were, in the Church to the same conception, in various forms, in the State. It came into vogue in theology at the same time that Solemn Leagues and Covenants obtained in civil affairs, and the theory began to find advocacy that human governments are founded in a social compact. The (so called) First Covenant,—a political

pact—was adopted at Edinburgh in 1557; the Second at Perth in 1559; the National Covenant in 1638; the Solemn League and Covenant in 1643. This was between England and Scotland. The Scottish editions of the Westminster Confession contain the political covenants. In both spheres, the civil and the religious, a vital truth was framing itself, however imperfect the expression. The theological covenant was no more unreal than the alleged political consent,—whether, as taught by Hooker, a secret agreement in our predecessors, or, by Grotius, a virtual consent, or, by Hobbes, an instituted or actual contract, or, by Locke, a tacit consent, or, at last, by Burke, an implied consent, which really goes back to the natural order or divine constitution.¹ In both spheres,—the political and the theological,—so intimately related in the Puritan thought of them, a leading significance of it all is the attempt to find a personal basis for obligation, whether civil or religious.

This general type of religious and political doctrine, whose history and deeper meaning I have briefly indicated, dominated the mind of New England from the earlier settlements through the century at whose close Mary Griffin joined the Puritan church at Bradford on her confession of the Apostles' Creed and assent to the simple covenant which the Church had adopted. As a doctrinal formula this Federalism, developed into the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace, had been endorsed by the hearty assent

¹ See Leo, *Universalgeschichte*, 2 Aufl., 1842, Bd. iv., s. 149 ff.; Fisher, *Yale Review*, Vol. II., 402 sq.; Hooker, *Works* (Keeble's ed.), I., 239, 246 (*Eccles. Pol.*, I., ch. x., 1, 8); Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis libri tres*, *Prol.*, §§ 15, 16; II., vi., §§ 1-4; Hobbes, *English Works*, III., 153 sq. (*Leviathan*, ch. xvii.-xviii.); Locke, *Works*, II., 192; Burke, *Works*, III., 400. Cf. Professor A. L. Lowell's *Essays on Government*, and for anticipations of modern theories of political contract, Professor Dunning's *Hist. of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*. A sufficient history of Federalism in Theology is still a desideratum. How intimately the two conceptions of covenant, the political or social, and the religious, were associated appears in these words of John Cotton, "Neither is there any colour to conceive this way of entering into Church estate by Covenant, to be peculiar to the Pedagogy of the old Testament; for it is evident by the light of nature, that all civill Relations are founded in Covenant." *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New-England, etc.*, (London, 1645), p. 4.

and attestation, for substance, given to the Westminster Confession of Faith at the Cambridge Synod in 1648, and by the acceptance in 1680 at Boston, by the Elders and Messengers of the Massachusetts churches, of the Savoy Declaration. It had also shaped numerous catechisms framed in England and Scotland prior to the first great migration to these shores, and still others which the ministers here prepared with perhaps a yet more remarkable fertility. It was retained in the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism, two editions of which appear to have been published at Cambridge, and two certainly had been issued in Boston, as early as 1691.¹ Mr. Ford thinks that this Catechism probably was included in the earliest editions of the Primer, the first not later than 1690.²

The impression thus made as to what was aimed at in the cultivation of Christian Faith, and, in some at least of its special characteristics, was expected of those admitted to membership in the Churches, is deepened by an examination of the Puritan catechisms to which I have just alluded. I have looked for my purpose at a number of these, nearly all that seem to be of special importance, but I will adduce only three, selected for reasons which will appear as I proceed.

The first is the Rev. William Perkins's *Six Principles of Christian Religion*, of which our associate Mr. Wilberforce Eames gave so interesting an account.³ He characterized this catechism as apparently the "one most used by the Puritans in England, the Pilgrims at Leyden and Plymouth, and the first settlers on the Bay," and as "the book that has helped to form the early New England character and creed." John Eliot, it was stated, translated it "into the Indian language of Massachusetts, and it

¹ The exact dates are 1665, 1668, 1683, 1691. See *Proceedings of the Am. Antiq. Soc.*, xii., I. (Oct., 1896), pp. 141, 142.

² Ford: *The New England Primer*, ed. 1839, pp. 30, 86.

³ *Proceedings*, Oct., 1897, pp. 78-87. Mr. E. thinks the edition of 1590 was "probably the first." Mr. Ford so dates.

was borrowed from by Abraham Pierson in preparing his Quiripi catechism entitled *Some Helps for the Indians*, Cambridge, 1658." Numerous editions were published in England; Mr. Eames mentions twenty-four from 1590 to 1682.¹ The last of these years it was reprinted in Boston.² Even a cursory perusal of this remarkable book will suffice to show the prominence given to the doctrines which I have specified as primary in the thought of the first Reformers — sin, salvation through Jesus Christ, assurance of forgiveness. It is noticeable, however, that the conception of covenants is absent from this part of the "Exposition"; it comes in only in connection with the sacraments of Baptism and the Supper. These rites are seals. Federalism was a modification of Calvinism.

Fifty-two years later (1642), Ezekiel Rogers, who had become in 1639 the first minister of the Church in Rowley, published "The Chief Grounds of Christian Religion set down by way of Catechizing, Gathered long since for the use of an Honourable Family." This catechism, the highest authority respecting the history of the Westminster standards, has been characterized as containing "in miniature almost all that is in the Shorter Catechism of the Westminster Assembly."³ It adds to the clear recognition

¹ *Proceedings*, Oct., 1897, pp. 79, 85 (note).

² Through the courtesy of Mr. Fisher Howe I have examined a copy of the London edition which bears the same date (1682) with that published in Boston. The former contains most of the new matter mentioned by Mr. Eames as found in the Boston edition, viz.: numbers 30, 31, 32, in the specification of errors, and the statement together with its signature, "Thine T. S." — that is all the additions except an editorial note on the fortieth page, which is left blank.

Mr. Eames offers the interesting suggestions that the signature may be that of Thomas Shepard, either father or son, and that there may have been an earlier New England edition. These deserve further investigation. I notice that the number of the verse quoted on the title page from Psalm 119 (Genevan version) is correctly given in the London edition, but wrongly in the Boston, — verse 133 for 130. Does this misprint occur in any earlier known edition? Does the signature "Thine T. S.," with the statement, appear in any London edition earlier than 1682?

In the title of the probably first edition, 1590, as given in the *Proceedings*, p. 79, the verse number is printed 30.

³ *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*. By Alexander F. Mitchell, D.D., 1896. p. xli. For the Catechism see pp. 53-64.

of the principles of the Great Reformation already noticed, the doctrine of the two covenants.

"Q. How did God govern man in this estate [that of innocency] ?

"A. By teaching him and making a covenant with him.

"Q. What was that covenant?

"A. Do this and thou shalt live." (P. 57).

Then follows an account of man's sin and misery, after which are the following question and answer :

"Q. Is there no means to come out of this misery and to be reconciled to God?

"A. Yes ; God of his mercy hath found out a means by making a new covenant with us in Jesus Christ." (P. 58).

Adjoining Bradford, carved out of old Rowley, with the present town of Groveland as part of its domain, was Newbury, where Rev. James Noyes had served as teacher with Rev. Thomas Parker, his uncle, as pastor, the latter a student of Magdalen, Oxford, a pupil of Archbishop Usher of Dublin, and of Ames in Holland. The general court having "desired 'the elders would make a catechism for the instruction of youth in the grounds of religion,'" Mr. Noyes composed one for the use of the children in Newbury. Published at Cambridge in 1661, it passed through three editions before the close of the century. The features already noticed, including the two Covenants,—that of the Law, and that of the Gospel,—are here conspicuous. With the Rowley Catechism and others, it contains also the Calvinistic doctrine of Decrees.¹ The pastor, church and people of Bradford thus had in 1695 honored local catechisms, close at hand, of the same general character with those elsewhere in use. To these facts should be added others to which I can only advert.

One is, the absence of any use of the Apostles' Creed in

¹ Mr. Noyes's Catechism is reprinted in Coffin's *Sketch of the History of Newbury, etc.*, 1845, pp. 287-291.

worship. Not until June 6, 1686, apparently, was the English Liturgy publicly read in Boston,¹ and its introduction by Randolph and support by Andros, who soon succeeded him, were not auspicious.

Another fact is, the omission of the Creed in the early New England reprints of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, so far as these are known. The Assembly, Nov. 8, 1647, added to its Catechism the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed.² These are printed, Mr. Eames informs me, in a copy of the London edition of 1658 which belongs to the Lenox Collection. They are found also in a reprint, by Dr. Mitchell, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, of one of the earliest English editions.³ The Prayer and Creed appear in full, the Commandments by title and reference to Exodus xx. They are present also in early Scottish catechisms.⁴ But in the New England reprints of the Shorter Catechism to which I have referred, one by Samuel Sewall, 1683, and another by B. Harris and J. Allen, 1691, both at Boston,—of two prior editions no copy seems to be known,—the Creed does not appear. The Prayer and Commandments are also omitted, but these, of course, were at hand in the Bibles, and they were the subjects of Questions and Answers in the Catechism. The Creed, therefore, so far as the catechisms in circulation here were concerned, including the Westminster, was not in sight.

To complete this view of the singularity of the transaction

¹ Foote: *Annals of King's Chapel*, I., p. 44.

² Mitchell: *Catechism of the Second Reformation*, p. xxv. ³ *Id.*, pp. xxxi, 38.

⁴ *The A, B, C, or a Catechisme for Yong Children Appointed by Act of the Church and Councell of Scotland. To be learned in all families and Lector Schools in the said Kingdome.* 1644.

The New Catechisme according to the Forms of the Kirk of Scotland. Very profitable and usefull for instructing of Children and Youth in the Principles of Religion. Set forth for the generall good of both Kingdomes. 1644. As given by Dr. Mitchell the Creed is not printed in full in this Catechism. Under a heading "The 12 Articles of the Belief," and it proceeds: "Q. *Rehearse the 12 Articles of the Beliefe?* A. I believe in God the Father Almighty, etc." Questions and Answers follow on this and the other Articles. See Mitchell, *Catechisms*, etc., pp. 267-296.

at Bradford I should add, that I have discovered no similar occurrence in the proceedings of any other of the early churches of Massachusetts or of those affiliated with them elsewhere in New England; nor, which is quite as noteworthy, in the history of the Church in Bradford.

Yet the record is plain. When some one wrote to Saint Augustine asking how he should meet an objection to a certain miracle that it was a singular event, the reply was sent, "Ask your friend if he cannot find in the literature of the world anything which has occurred only once, and yet is credible." Augustine specifies no instance. The church record at Bradford seems to contain one. Though not miraculous, nor perhaps even marvellous, there is really something suggestive and admirable in it all. In the midst of the ecclesiastical and theological situation I have described, with catechisms and confessions, and declarations and creeds all about her, and revered pastors and religious leaders all committed to a scheme and system of religious teaching and profession,—in the midst, I repeat, of this strongly flowing stream of tendency, Mary Griffin, after waiting half a year, stood up, in that log church in Bradford, before the minister and deacons and the rest of that Puritan congregation, and professed the Apostles' Creed; and the Pastor approved, and all the Brethren, and no doubt all the sisters as well, for the minister wrote in the Record: "and I declaring the same to ye church, waiting sometime to see, no objection was brought against her." Jenny Geddes' stool would have been there if it had been wanted.

One would like to know more of this mother in Israel. Her son was baptized the same day, the father bringing him, though not himself a member of the church, but one of those Christians, as Mr. James Freeman Clarke perhaps would have said, who are always found on the Parish Committee. When the log church was built, the first in Bradford, he served on the Building Committee. He served the town

also as Selectman. One wonders whether in that home, in that father's and mother's heart, memories were not stirring of lessons learned from some old English Primer, which always had the Creed, and whether, though for conscience' sake all *imposed* worship must be forsaken, there lingered not with them the thought of a confession of belief as a religious service, an offering of faith, an act of homage and worship, and if something of the beauty and sacredness of the Creed which for centuries had been recited at every baptism, and been associated with every admission to the full privileges of the Christian fellowship, did not come with new and fresh power to these believers, wakening, in the freedom and Sabbath stillness of this new world, chords that, under oppression, had well nigh wholly ceased to vibrate.

But I must not leave this matter in mere mystery. There is another line of investigation to follow.

Personal "relations," as they were called, were still in the churches the mode of confession of faith, though not exclusively so.

This explanation, however, does not go far. How came, we ask, this particular Creed to be used?

Negatively, we may say,—the Puritans *never rejected this Creed*. How the matter stood is plainly shown in the letter "To all Ignorant People That desire to be Instructed," which precedes William Perkins's statement of the "Six Principles," and their catechetical "Exposition." In this epistle he states a large number of "common opinions" which keep men from a true knowledge of religion. One of these is, that "God is served by the rehearsing of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed." It was the confounding Religion with repeating the Creed, the saying it without understanding it, and applying it to conduct, that he censures and would banish. His "Six Principles" were pressed in order that by their "being well conceived and in some measure felt in the heart," his readers should "be able to profit by Sermons . . . ; and the ordinary

parts of the Catechism, namely, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the institution of the two Sacraments, shall more easily be understood."¹

It should also be noticed that the Puritan teachers much as they and their followers prized the kind of Creed and Catechism I have, perhaps with unnecessary fulness, illustrated, rigorously insisted that the smallest measure of Christian faith was sufficient for discipleship and church membership, if only it was genuine, and its professor was ready to assume the obligations of the church covenant.

Somewhere about the year 1690, not later, perhaps a little earlier, a new agency came into the field — Benjamin Harris's *New England Primer*. Mr. Ford says: "In every 'New England Primer' the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed was [?] included, and while their position was varied, they commonly followed 'The Alphabet of Lessons.'"²

The insertion of the Creed in *The New England Primer* was of much importance for its history in New England. Possibly it occasioned Cotton Mather's paying so marked attention to it in his "Maschil, or the Faithful Instructor," published in 1701. Mary Griffin, one would think, must have looked on with a pleased surprise. This versatile preacher, quick to seize an opportunity for testimony, begins and almost ends this new and comprehensive catechetical Educator, with the Creed. In the opening Essay he says: "This Creed is well worth an Early Inscription upon the Memories of our Children," and then he appends Questions designed to promote its introduction into their "Affections and Practices." In the Tenth Essay he eulogizes the Assembly's Catechism and gives Questions under each

¹ *The Foundation of Christian Religion Gathered into Six Principles*. London, 1682, pp. 2-4, 6.

² The Creed had been published here still earlier in English as well as Indian in John Eliot's *Indian Primer* (Cambridge, 1689). Rev. E. E. Hale, D.D., has kindly called my attention to a reprint of this Primer (Edinburgh, Andrew Elliot, 1880). According to Mr. Ford, Harris inserted the Creed in *The Protestant Tutor* (London, 1679), but it is omitted in the edition of this book published at Boston, 1685. Mr. Ford refers to this edition as "probably in an abridged form." (*The New England Primer*, 2d ed., pp. 52 sq., 34, 35, 37.)

of its Questions and Answers to facilitate their use. Then, in an Appendix, we have with the Commandments a Hymn called "The Lord's Prayer," of eight four-line stanzas, and then a Paraphrase of The Creed, with "a Profession of Faith directed by some Eminent Ministers associated for Church Reformation." He prints each Article of the Creed.

As I have intimated, it looks as though he saw in the success of the *Primer* a sign of the times.

This little book, more than anything else, must have kept alive or extended in the eighteenth century New England's knowledge of the Creed.

I pass on at once to the following century and to a time near the middle of it. It is marked by the beginning in the churches represented later by the National Council of the Congregational Churches of the United States, of occasional appearances in particular churches of more or less recurrence to the Creed. This tendency received a noteworthy recognition in the recommendation of a Commission of twenty-five "ministers and teachers designed" (I use the words of one of our Associates) "to be widely representative of Congregationalism, geographically and theologically." Coming into existence through action of a National Council which met at St. Louis in 1880, this Commission published in 1883, with a "Statement of Doctrine," a form for admission to Church membership, of which Mary Griffin's Creed is a marked feature. I have looked over recently several hundred manuals of churches of this order, and find that already considerably more than a hundred show the use or influence of this Creed. The collection consisted of a large proportion of older Creeds, and was very far from complete in its representation of the existing usage. I was surprised at finding so large a number as that just stated.

The Creed is the universal Baptismal Symbol of the Roman Catholic Church. In its form as derived from that of the ancient church of Jerusalem and modified by the influence of the Nicene Confession, it is that of the Greek Church. It

is employed by the Lutheran, German Reformed, Moravian, Waldensian, and other churches.

In the Presbyterian Digest, edited by the late Rev. Dr. Moore of Columbus, Ohio, I find in the "Directory for Worship"¹ this canon—"Children, born within the pale of the visible Church and dedicated to God in baptism, are under the inspection and government of the Church; and are to be taught to read and repeat the Catechism, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer." Professor A. H. Newman, D.D., in his *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*, says: "Baptists have, for the most part, been at one with the Roman Catholic, the Greek Catholic, and most Protestant communions in accepting for substance the so-called Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. Yet some Baptist parties have interpreted the Scriptures in such a manner as to put themselves at variance with the ancient formulæ."²

While these and other changes have been going on respecting the Creed, with more or less dissent from it, critical inquiry has been making rapid progress in tracing its history back to the time, or near the time, of its origin. This is an interesting chapter in the records of historical investigation. The beginnings of the Creed appear definitely in the second century, and the latest, most comprehensive and thorough critical treatise on it carries it up to near the close of the Apostolic Age, not as something proved, but at least plausibly guessed or divined — as perhaps I should better say.

It has had a remarkable history, not yet closed, whatever the future may bring. It still marks a noteworthy line of continuity in Christian belief. I can only say for myself, — if so personal a word may be pardoned on such an occasion and theme as this — that in its structure, literary workmanship, long continued use, in its rhythm and simplicity and comprehensiveness, most of all in its religious appreciation

¹ C. XI, p. 800. 1886. ² *A History of the Baptist Churches in the U. S.* (1886), p. 5.

of the great objective realities of our Christian faith, it is a *κῆρυμα εἰς ἅελ.*

A recent writer, of a cultivated critical historical spirit, has endeavored to explain its origin by a local controversy in the second century, and another early in the third,—for two such issues, wide apart, are employed to explain its simple beginnings.

The attempt seems to me a failure on critical grounds. But apart from this is the genius of the Creed. One cannot explain a song by a syllogism, an Amen simply by a controversy, a baptismal confession apart from the Name.

John Eliot thought it good for his Indian converts, as Irenaeus trusted its substance, perhaps a very early form of it, in the wilds of Gaul. While I write I receive the testimony of one of our missionaries in Cuba, given with obvious delight, of his "first joy in Sunday-School work." This month he writes, "19 children have memorized the ten commandments and apostles' creed. We now, all of us, repeat them each Sunday together as a part of our order of Service."¹ After all, the simplest is the best and the most enduring. "The older I grew," writes Richard Baxter, as quoted by the Bishop of Ripon,—Baxter that man of many hard-fought battles, now drawing towards the Rest he had depicted for many a saint—"the older I grew, the smaller stress I laid on these controversies and animosities (though still my intellect abhorreth confusion) as finding greater uncertainties in them than I at first discovered and finding less usefulness where there is the greatest certainty. The Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments are now to me as my daily meat and drink. . . . So I had rather hear of them than any of the school niceties."

Rude Gauls, American Indians, a Puritan household, Cuban children, Richard Baxter!

I have preached to you, I fear, a long sermon; but I trust you have found at least my text—Mary Griffin and her Creed—a good one.

¹ *The Home Missionary*, April, 1902, p. 307.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

Our honored Councillor, the late Dr. Charles Deane, said to your librarian upon his advancement to that office: "Ask for what you need but be thankful for what you have." Herein is wisdom and comfort. For many years, it has been the good fortune of this Society to have on its Library Committee its President and its Treasurer; two officers having an intimate knowledge of our requirements and our treasures. The recent improvements within the Hall, made under their personal supervision, need only to be seen to be appreciated. Members, guests and the library staff all enjoy the changed conditions.

In this connection Mr. Christopher C. Baldwin's modest letter of acceptance of the librarianship of this Society is here recorded:—

Sutton, Nov. 26, 1831.

REJOICE NEWTON, Esq.

My dear Sir,

Your communication under date of 25th inst., informing me of being elected Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, has been placed in my hands. I accept the appointment:—and I will endeavor, by industry and fidelity in promoting the objects of the Society, to deserve the confidence of the Council.

I am with great respect and regard

your friend

CHRIS= C: BALDWIN.

The fulfilment of the "endeavor by industry and fidelity in promoting the objects of the Society," appears not only in our treasure-house, but in the record of the diarist so wisely preserved in our latest major publication.

The binding of the doings of learned societies, college serials, general magazine and other literature, and small folio newspapers, has made a heavy draft upon the fund so wisely established for that purpose. Lack of space as well as lack of funds has prevented any attempt to bind the blanket folio newspaper files of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which now fill the tables of our newspaper room. We receive from the Worcester Free Public Library and from the Worcester County Mechanics Association more than one hundred unbound files of current representative journals, and, from other sources, perhaps an average of twenty-five files. What disposition to make of this mass of more or less important historical material, has become a problem difficult of solution. Your librarian in previous reports has suggested a fund for the purchase of needed eighteenth century papers, and has re-referred to the apparent present duty of the City, State and Nation. The important breaks in our nineteenth century collection disturb the investigators; while the twentieth century student wonders why we have not in bound form the latest products of the newspaper press.

The book of accessions records three hundred and three sources of gifts; namely, forty-one members, one hundred and twenty-nine persons not members and one hundred and thirty-three societies and institutions. We have received from them seven hundred and five books, thirty-five hundred and ninety-six pamphlets, fifty-one bound and two hundred and eight unbound volumes of newspapers, thirty-five photographs, eleven lithographs, seven broadsides, three manuscripts, one medal and a table; by exchange, nine books, eight pamphlets and nine book-plates; and from the bindery, two hundred and twelve volumes of magazines and forty volumes of newspapers: a total of nine hundred and twenty-six books, thirty-six hundred and four pamphlets, fifty-one bound and two hundred and eight unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

Dr. James D. Butler places in our alcove of biography a copy of Kingston's New Pocket Biographical Dictionary, formerly owned by John Howard Payne, as indicated by his autograph. The giver writes the librarian that "The circumstances of finding this relic where and when least looked for, appeared so noteworthy that they were described by me in *The Nation* in 1883 (No. 937, p. 510). A copy of that article I have placed in the volume. When Payne, on June 16, 1834, visited the Library he promised, as your predecessor Baldwin relates, to give it 'his own books and some others of which he made a memorandum.' Let the trifle I now express to you be considered a fulfilment of this promise." Dr. Butler adds: "Hope of seeing Trumbull's Natick Dictionary is to me very cheering, for I am confident it will throw light upon many of our Western Algonkin names which still sit in darkness, notably the word *Wisconsin* itself."

No explanation need accompany the following communication :

San Francisco, Dec. 4th, 1901.

Honorable STEPHEN SALISBURY,

President of the American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.

Dear Sir :—

Herewith please receive a sealed package containing letters of Governor John Davis and his wife, Eliza Davis, written between 1825 and 1853. I place them in the custody of the American Antiquarian Society with the consent of my brothers J. C. Bancroft Davis and Andrew McF. Davis and on the condition that they shall not be opened until 1950. You have already what remains of Governor Davis's political correspondence. This bundle represents mainly his domestic and personal affairs. Please acknowledge receipt, and believe me, with great respect,

Yours very truly,

HORACE DAVIS.

The parcel was received 12 December, 1901, and immediately placed in our steel safe.

At the October meeting in 1873, Mr. John T. Doyle's "Memorandum as to the Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco," was presented by Hon. John D. Washburn, with introductory remarks. A second paper from the same author and upon the same subject appears in the Proceedings of April, 1889. I submit for preservation in print, a recent letter received from Mr. Doyle with the Costanzo map, followed by a second letter relating thereto :

Menlo Park, Cal., October 29th, 1901.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq.,
Librarian, &c.

Dear Sir :—

I have, since the receipt of your letter stating that the blue print of Costanzo's map of the west coast of America from the "Rio de los reyes" to the "Cabo de corrientes" had not been received by you, been waiting, I know not how long, for some one to send me something in one of those straw-board cylinders, used for mailing such things, and thus enable me to comply with your suggestion to duplicate the gift. Only this morning the hoped-for missive arrived, and I now lose no time in removing the directions to myself and substituting one to yourself and enclosing the map in question, which you will see bears date in Mexico, just one hundred and thirty-one years ago tomorrow. The case is not quite large enough, and I had to fold the enclosure, but I trust that it will reach you uninjured. The original is in the possession of the Bohemian Club of San Francisco, by whose permission I had it traced. If Col. Washburn is still living (which though I earnestly hope I can hardly feel assured of) he will I think be much interested in this map and glad of an opportunity to compare it with ours of the Coast survey. Such a comparison will show that so far as the expedition of 1769, whereof Costanzo was engineer, followed the shore from San Diego up, Costanzo's map was very accurate ; but from the point where the expedition, leaving the shore line entered the Santa Lucia mountains up as far as the Bay of Monterey, it is laid down conjecturally. From

Point Pinos again, up as far as Point Corral de tierra it becomes accurate, and north of that and up to, and including the "Estero de San Francisco" it is sketched as closely as possible, as seen from the summit of the hills overlooking Milbrae and San Mateo. This tends to confirm my conjecture, of many years since, as to the furthest point reached by that expedition.

Yours very truly,

JOHN T. DOYLE.

Note on the early exploration of Upper California.

In the library of the Bohemian Club, is a quarto volume (quite thin) entitled "A historical journal of the expedition by sea and land to the north of California in 1768, 1769 and 1770, when Spanish establishments were first made at San Diego and Monterey. From a Spanish manuscript, translated by William Reveley, Esq." Published by Dalrymple, 1790. "London, printed by George Bigg, sold by P. Elmsley, opposite Southampton Street, Strand; F. Wingrave (successor to Mr. Nourse) opposite Catherine Street, Strand, and J. Stockdale, Picadilly." In the advertisement, in the front of the book and signed by Dalrymple, which is dated November, 1790, it is stated that in 1783, he "received from Dr. Robertson, a present of a Spanish ms. of which the following is a translation. It was written by an officer employed in the expedition, but I think proper to omit his name." The ms. is entitled "Diario Histórico de los viages de mar y tierra, hechos al norte de la California, del orden del Exmo. Sr. Marques de Croix, Gov. y Capitan General de la Nueva España y por direccion del Illo. Sr. D. Jose de Galvez, del consejo y Camera de S. M. en el Supremo de Indias, Yntendente de exercito, Visitador General de este reyno; Executedas por la tropa destinada á dicho objeto al mando de D. Gaspar de Portolá capitan de dragones en el regimiento de España y Gobernador de dicha peninsula; y de los paquebotes El *San Carlos* y *San Antonio*, al mando de D. Vicente Vila, Piloto del numero de primeros, de la Real Armada, y de Juan Perez, de la navegacion de Filipinas."

In the Sutro Library is a copy of the diary of D. Miguel Costanzo, who was the engineer of Portolá's expedition, which I compared, in company with Prof. Duniway of

Stanford University, with the translation in Dalrimple's publication, and we concluded that the *ms.* translated by Mr. Revely was a copy of Costanzo's diary. We did not read it through, but the commencements of the paragraphs of each led to this conclusion. Mr. Revely's rendering of many words and expressions is, however, very faulty: thus he translates "*esteros*" into "creeks," reducing the great estuary we call by the general name of the Bay of San Francisco (including Suisun and San Pablo) to the rank of a *creek*!

Menlo Park, Dec, 11th, 1901.

JOHN T. DOYLE.

Vice-President Hale has added to his works already upon our shelves. In his "Seven Spanish Cities, and the Way to Them," I find one of the kindly deeds for which his four-score useful years have been noted. In his chapter on Madrid, under Museums, he writes: "They are not overrun with visitors. They do not think you are a wretched tourist 'doing the gallery.' They receive you as Mr. Barton would receive a stranger who comes to Worcester to the Antiquarian Society and wants to draw the Michael Angelo's Moses, or to consult an old volume of the *News-Letter*. They seem to know that you are decent people, and are really interested in their treasures." And here I venture an appeal for copies of Dr. Hale's "Man without a Country" in the foreign tongues into which it has been so wisely translated to further a love of country. By reference to the librarian's report of April, 1889, it will be observed that we have a special interest in the birth and history of this American classic. Vice-President Hoar echoed the sentiment of many American librarians when he said: "He has told us the sorrowful story of the man without a country. But how sorrowful will be the condition of the country without the man."

Mr. Henry P. Upham upon learning that we possess the original quarto edition of Charlevoix's "*Histoire et Description Générale de la Nouvelle France*," but not Dr. Shea's six volume translation of 1866-1872, promptly sub-

scribed for the new edition, the sixth and last volume of which is hereby acknowledged. It supplements in a way "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," received from the same source. Sabin, in his *Bibliotheca Americana*, says of the first edition of Shea: "This is the first translation into English of Charlevoix's celebrated and important work. Dr. Shea has added notes, corrected references and improved the bibliography, at the same time retaining in all its originality Charlevoix's text." The second edition of Shea's translation contains everything that was in his first edition, with the addition of a memoir of Dr. Shea and a bibliography of his writings.

Mr. Henry Vignaud of Paris, in presenting his work on "Le Lettre et la Carte de Toscanelli, 1474, sur la route des Indes par l'ouest," writes "I seize this opportunity to send to your Society a book of mine just published, which has attracted some attention. I send it as a mark of the high esteem I entertain for the learned members of an Association which has done me the enviable honor of admitting me as a member."

Mr. Charles C. Beale, Court stenographer, Boston, sends us the *Typewriter and Phonographic World* of October, 1901, containing his paper upon "The Cummings shorthand books. American Antiquarian Society." I quote therefrom the following paragraphs:

"To students of shorthand history, the American Antiquarian Society is known by reason of its possession of the original shorthand manuscripts of John Hull, the first Mint-Master of Massachusetts, written 1655-1665; of Thomas Shepard, Jr., of Cambridge, Mass., son of the first minister in Cambridge; of Thomas Lechford, the first lawyer in New England; and other notable seventeenth century shorthand writers: but it may not be so generally known that they have also one of the choicest collections of shorthand books to be found in any library, public or quasi-public, in this country. . . . The collection of shorthand books is not exceeding large as compared with

some private collections, consisting of about a hundred works, but it includes many rarities and some items which are, so far as I am aware, unique. . . . The collection is in the main a donation from one collector, Mr. Herbert R. Cummings, of Worcester, once an enthusiastic stenographer, but now engaged in the insurance business in the same city. The books represent a very considerable outlay of money and time; and in order to secure their permanent preservation, in May, 1894, Mr. Cummings donated them to the Society. . . . Anyone interested in shorthand history and literature who has an opportunity to visit this fine collection will be well paid for so doing."

The gift of Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield, a daughter and granddaughter respectively of two of our charter members, is of the same quality as all of her many contributions. It has been her custom for many years to send us, soon after their issue, some of the best editions of the choicest books from the leading presses of America.

I mention the receipt of Mr. Willard Fiske's paper on *The Missing Manuscript of the Rev. Louis Rou's tract relating to Chess (1734) in aid of his search therefor.* The title is "Critical remarks upon the Letter to the Craftsman on the Game of Chess occasioned by his paper of the 15th of Sept. 1733, and dated from Slaughter's Coffee-House, Sept. 21." Mr. Rou was Pastor of the French Protestant Church in New York City. Information may be sent to the library of Cornell University.

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle kindly writes in a copy of her *Old Time Gardens*—"To the American Antiquarian Society. In its library at Worcester, the birthplace of the author, she found so much of value in the making of this book."

Mr. Oscar Wegelin sends a copy of his "Early American Fiction, 1774-1830," for service rendered, and Dr. Cyrus Thomas his important contributions relating to the *Mayan Calendar Systems*; and the numeral systems of Mexico and Central America, in recognition of aid in

comparison and illustration. From the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology we have received the "Codex Nuttall, Facsimile of an Ancient Mexican Codex belonging to Lord Zouche of Harynworth, England, with an introduction by Zelia Nuttall." This remarkable reproduction has been placed with our growing collection of codices.

Mr. Lawrence Waters Jenkins — at the request of Mr. Henry F. Waters — has forwarded the receipt given the Hon. Joseph G. Waters by the artist Mr. George Southward for our portrait of the Rev. William Bentley, D.D., of Salem, Massachusetts. In the list of Givers and Gifts of April, 1870, it is credited to Mr. Waters, but in the librarian's report Dr. Haven refers to it as "A fine copy of a painting of Dr. William Bentley, the liberal gift of friends in Salem, through Hon. Joseph G. Waters, expressly for the Bentley alcove in our library." I recall the fact that the portrait reached us from the artist—who is now first known to us—soon after Judge Waters and Dr. Henry Wheatland had greatly enjoyed a day or two among our Bentley manuscripts.

With Mr. Daniel Murray's essay on "Paul Jennings and his Times," which is carefully typewritten, sumptuously bound and inscribed in gold, we received the following letter:

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,

LIBRARIAN'S OFFICE,

Washington, D. C., March 8, 1902.

Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR,

U. S. Senator.

Washington, D. C.

My dear Sir:

In handing you the accompanying biographical sketch of Paul Jennings, a colored man who sustained an intimate confidential relation to President Madison, for transmission to the American Antiquarian Society, I am animated, first, by a desire that a knowledge of him may

be brought to the attention of the eminent literary men of the American Antiquarian Society, and secondly, to attest my gratitude to Mr. Edmund M. Barton, the Librarian, for valuable assistance afforded me in the work of compiling a bibliography of books and pamphlets by Afro-American and Afro-European authors, a work to which I was detailed by Librarian Putnam at the request of Hon. Ferdinand Peck, Director-General of the Paris Exposition, 1900.

When the Exposition opened I was able to place on exhibition a list showing a little over nine hundred titles and more than two hundred books, and this in a field of literary endeavor, where, ordinarily little might be expected. Being deeply interested, I have continued the quest for titles of this character and have now about twenty-three hundred.

Believing the enclosed biographical sketch of Paul Jennings would be of interest, I have great pleasure in presenting it.

Very sincerely yours,

DANIEL MURRAY.

By bequest of Mrs. Sarah I. Rockwood, late of Westborough, Massachusetts, there has been added to the Hall furniture an eight-legged table formerly owned by the Reverend Thaddeus Maccarty. It is of maple, is in a perfect state of preservation, and has been put to immediate use. Major William T. Harlow adds to our Revolutionary material a reproduction of a family document of that period. It is Nathan How's Commission as "Captain of a Company in the Regiment whereof Josiah Whitney Esq. is Colonel raised by this Colony to reinforce the American Army untill the first day of April next." It bears date of Fifth Day of February, 1776, and is signed by Perez Morton, D. Sec'y.

I present for publication, without note or comment, the letter and bill of sale which follow :

Springfield, Illinois, Mar. 25, 1902.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Librarian.

My dear Sir :

I enclose herewith a document executed fifty-two years ago, which, as will be seen, is of historical

interest and value, as relating to the institution of Slavery as it still existed in the year 1850, about the time of the passage of the famous "compromise measures," to the passage of which Daniel Webster gave his supreme effort, and in consequence of which action his political sun went down to rise no more.

This deed was presented to me by the grantee, Amanda Holmes, in the year 1870. The husband whom she purchased, William Holmes, survived until after the close of the Civil War, about the year 1866 or 7. Soon after that event, she removed from St. Louis to Springfield where she died in 1870.

The records of St. Louis County will show for all time to come, how, under the banner of the United States, a man was sold to his wife, for "thirty pieces of silver"—dollars.

The old woman was intelligent and cheery, and lived long enough to enjoy the blessings of freedom which emancipated her race from bondage.

I take great pleasure in presenting the document to the "American Antiquarian Society" for preservation among its archives.

I am very truly yours,

EDWIN SAWYER WALKER.

Know all Men by these Presents, That we Adam D. Stewart and Mary B. Stewart his wife, at present of the City of Saint Louis and state of Missouri a Colonel of and in the Army of the United States of America Have this day bargained, sold, assigned and made over unto Amanda Holmes (a free woman of colour) of the City aforesaid for and in consideration of the sum of Thirty Dollars, to me in hand well and truly paid by the said Amanda Holmes the receipt whereof I do hereby acknowledge and acquit her for ever,=One negro man named William Holmes in or about forty five years of age of a dark brown colour and about five and one half feet in height a slave for life, and which said sum of Thirty dollars is in full payment of and for said William Holmes. It is hereby expressly understood by these presents that I do not guarantee that the said William Holmes is of sound mind or body. But I do hereby warrant and defend the right and title of all and against any claims or demands of any and all persons whatsoever previous to the date hereof. **IN WITNESS WHEREOF,** I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal this

twenty ninth day of January in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty 1850

Signed Sealed and Delivered
in the presence of us

The words "and Mary B. Stewart his wife,"
interlined before signing.

JNO. H. WATSON.

ADAM D. STEWART [SEAL]

MARY B. STEWART [SEAL]

State of Missouri,

County of Saint Louis.

ss.

Be it remembered that on the Sixth day of February A. D. Eighteen Hundred and fifty, before me the undersigned "The Law Commissioner of Saint Louis County," in the State aforesaid, came Adam D. Stewart and Mary B. his wife, who are personally known to me to be the same persons whose names are subscribed to the foregoing instrument of writing as parties thereto and acknowledged the same to be their act and deed for the purposes therein mentioned; that the said Mary B. wife of the said Adam D. Stewart having been by me first made acquainted with the contents of the said instrument of writing, acknowledged to me on an examination separate and apart from her said husband, that she executed the same freely, and without compulsion or undue influence of her said husband.

Given under my hand and Seal of Office,
the day and year above written.

JNO. H. WATSON.

The Law Com^r of St. Louis County.

[SEAL]

County of St. Louis ss I Stephen D. Barlow Recorder for said County certify that the foregoing deed was filed in my office Feby 6 1850 & is truly recorded in Book I no. 5 page 463 & foll

[SEAL]

Witness my hand & official seal
the date last aforesaid

S. D. BARLOW Recorder

Our varied service is rendered not only to individuals but to States and Nations. For instance, the late Chief Justice of Vermont, Hon. Russell S. Taft, has been allowed to reprint certain pages of the laws of that State. They have been reproduced by our printer, under the direction of Mr. Benjamin J. Dodge, who has so faithfully superintended the Society's Worcester printing for the past thirty-three years. In a letter received just before his lamented death, Judge Taft, referring to his last request, says: "I do not know of any copies of the forty-one

pages other than yours." It is quite possible that these fragmentary pages were turned over to this Society in 1838, when a circular-letter calling for such material was sent to the Governors of the various States.

It is the desire of the Council as well as of the librarian to place in the Alcove of Biography all available material relating to our members. This should include extended sketches, newspaper clippings and manuscript notes suggesting other trustworthy authorities. Lists of their publications supplied by the writers and annually perfected by them, could be kept in folders with the other personal data.

In closing, I quote from an editorial in the *Library Journal* of October, 1901, the following paragraph: "Yet it must not be forgotten that the spirit and force underlying the best library work of the present time has been almost wholly a result of the cordial personal relations, mutual confidence and good-will developed through the personal and informal associations that have from the beginning been a special feature of library organization." As a member of the American Library Association since its birth in September, 1876, and as a member of our library faculty since April 1, 1866, I would heartily endorse this vigorous statement.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.D., Lincoln.—His "The Confederacy and The Transvaal: A People's Obligation to Robert E. Lee."
- BALDWIN, SIMEON E., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His "Yale Men as Writers of Law and Government."
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester—Home Letters, 1861-1865 from Ira Moore Barton and wife to their son Capt. Charles Henry Barton, in the Service; and three magazines, in continuation.
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—His "Notes on the Report of Teobert Maler, in Memoirs of the Peabody Museum, Vol. 2, No. 1"; and his paper "On the Age of Maya Ruins."
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His "Household Words: their Etymology"; and Kingston's "New Pocket Biographical Dictionary," containing Autograph of John Howard Payne.
- DAVIS, ANDREW McF., Cambridge.—His "Currency and Banking in the Province of Massachusetts Bay," in two volumes; and two of his other publications.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seven books; one hundred and eighty-three pamphlets; and one engraving.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—Invitations and programmes relating to the Millenary of King Alfred the Great.
- DOYLE, JOHN T., Menlo Park, Cal.—Blue print copy of Costanzo's Map of the West Coast of America; a manuscript letter of Governor Diego de Borica relating to the Mission of San Antonio; and his Note on the Early Exploration of Upper California.
- EDES, HENRY H., Cambridge.—Transactions of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, containing his paper on "Places of Worship of the Sandemanians in Boston."
- FORBES, HON. WILLIAM T., Worcester.—Thirteen books; and twenty-four pamphlets.
- FRANCIS, GEORGE E., M.D., Worcester.—His "Medical Prospects": An address before the Massachusetts Medical Society, 1901.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His "Relations of Yale to Men of Science."
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., New York.—Hall's "Jamestown, A Sketch of its History and Present Condition."

GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Three of his own publications; ten facsimile reproductions of "Old Boston and Neighborhood"; seven books; ten hundred and eighty-six pamphlets; one proclamation; one broadside; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.

HALE, REV. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—Three of his own books; and De Foe's "Life of Colonel Jack."

HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Ten of his own publications; thirteen books; two hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets; two photographs; a fragment of the Endicott Rock; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.

HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—One pamphlet.

LEÓN NICOLÁS, Ph.D., Mexico, Mex.—His "Lyobaa ó Mictlan, Guia Historico-Descriptiva," Mexico, 1901.

LINCOLN, WALDO, Worcester.—His "The Province Snow, Prince of Orange"; and photographs of Commodore Edward Tyng, his wife Mrs. Anne (Waldo) Tyng, and of the cup presented to Commodore Tyng by merchants of Boston in 1744.

LORD, ARTHUR, Plymouth.—His "Some Needed Changes in Town Affairs."

LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., Paris, France.—"Codex Féjerváry-Mayer Manuscrit Mexicain Précolombien," with introduction by Doctor Loubat; and "Die Alten Ansiedlungen von Chacula."

MARSH, HON. HENRY A., Worcester.—Souvenir programme for the Eightieth Anniversary Celebration of the birth of Edward Everett Hale, Boston, April 8, 1902; and one newspaper.

MCCALL, HON. SAMUEL W., Winchester.—His Speech against the Philippine Tariff Bill.

MATTHEWS, ALBERT, Boston.—Two of his own publications.

MEAD, EDWIN D., Boston.—His "East Anglia in New England,"; and programmes of the Commemoration of the Millenary of King Alfred the Great.

MERRIMAN, REV. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—Fifty-seven pamphlets; and two files of newspapers, in continuation.

NOBLE, JOHN, Boston.—"Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 1680-1692." vol. 1.

PAINÉ, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Two of his own publications; three books; one hundred and ninety-four pamphlets; ten lithographs; six photographs; and four files of newspapers, in continuation.

PRET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—"The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.

ROGERS, HON. HORATIO, *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—"Early Records of the Town of Providence," vol. 16.

SALISBURY HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Eighteen books; four hundred and thirteen pamphlets; two photographs; two broadsides; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.

STEARNS, HON. EZRA S., Rindge, N. H.—His "Fitch Genealogy."

STEBBINS, REV. CALVIN, Framingham.—Two of his own publications.

THOMAS, ALLEN C., Haverford, Pa.—Two of his own publications.

UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—"Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," vols. 72 and 73; and Charlevoix's "History of New France," vol. 6, third edition.

VEDDER, REV. CHARLES, LL.D., Charleston, S. C.—Three of his own publications; five volumes of the publications of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina; and one pamphlet.

VIGNAUD, HENRY, Paris, France.—His "La lettre et la Carte de Toscanelli, 1474, sur la route des Indes par l'ouest."

WEEDEN, WILLIAM B., Providence, R. I.—His "Industrial Life in Rhode Island."

WRIGHT, CARROLL D., *Commissioner*, Washington, D. C.—Publications of the U. S. Department of Labor, as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ARGONAUT PUBLISHING COMPANY, San Francisco, Cal.—Numbers of "The Argonaut."

ART METAL CONSTRUCTION COMPANY, Jamestown, N. Y.—One book.

EVERY, ELROY M., Cleveland, Ohio.—"Every Notes and Queries," as issued.

BAKER AND TAYLOR COMPANY, New York.—"The Monthly Bulletin," as issued.

BALDWIN, JOHN D., Worcester.—The matrix plates of the "Greater Worcester" edition of the Worcester Daily Spy; and seven numbers of "Harvard Magazine."

BARTON, MISS EDITH A., Worcester.—"The Spirit of '76," 1898-1900.

BARTON MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.

BARTON, MRS. WM. SUMNER, Worcester.—Wall map of Worcester in 1878; and thirty-two pamphlets.

BEALE, CHARLES C., Boston.—His "The Cummings collection of shorthand books in the library of the American Antiquarian Society"; and his "Early American Shorthand Authors."

BEMIS, MERRICK, M.D., Worcester.—Seventeen hundred and ninety-six pamphlets, chiefly American medical and surgical journals.

BERRY, JOHN M., Millbury.—His "Constitutional convention of Connecticut."

BINGHAM, HIRAM, JR., Cambridge.—His "Five Straws Gathered from Revolutionary Fields."

- BLACKER, FRANCIS W., Worcester.—A framed photograph of Charles Sumner.
- BLACKMER, FRANK W., Ph.D., Topeka, Kan.—His "Life of Charles Robinson."
- BLISS, MRS. WILLIAM H., Worcester.—Taylor's "Christ's Victorie over the Dragon and Satan," London, 1683.
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
- BOSWORTH, MRS. ROBERT, Highland, Cal.—Numbers of "The Highland Citrus Belt."
- BOWMAN, GEORGE E., *Editor*, Boston.—Numbers of "The Mayflower Descendant."
- BROWN, DAVID H., West Medford.—His address on "Raymond, New Hampshire, Fifty Years Ago."
- BROWN, FREEMAN, *Clerk*, Worcester.—The Annual Report of the Worcester Board of Overseers of the Poor, 1891.
- BROWN HENRY J., London, England.—Tributes to Benjamin F. Stevens, including his own.
- BULLARD, REV. HENRY, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.—"One Hundred Years in a Presbyterian Church, Union Springs, N. Y."
- BULLARD, Miss LOUISA D., Cambridge.—Twenty-eight photographs, chiefly of Generals of the War of 1861-65.
- BUNFORD, SAMUEL, Philadelphia. Pa.—His "Index to American Portraits."
- CANFIELD, MRS. PENELOPE S., Worcester.—Twenty-four selected books.
- CANFIELD, Miss PENELOPE W. S., Worcester.—"The Army and Navy Journal"; and "The Southern Letter," in continuation.
- CHAMBERLAIN, DANIEL H., LL.D., West Brookfield.—His "Charles Sumner and the Treaty of Washington."
- CHAMBERLIN, MRS. HENRY H., Worcester.—Abbot's "Brief Description of the Whole World," London, fol. 1628. (?)
- CHAPMAN, MRS. MARY A., *Vice-President*, Fitchburg.—"The Ancestral Register of the General Society of the Daughters of the Revolution," 1896; and two pamphlets.
- CHICKERING AND SONS, Boston.—Their "Historical Musical Exhibition Catalogue, 1902."
- CLARK, HON. GEORGE M., Higganum, Conn.—His "Revision of the Connecticut Constitution."
- CONANT, LEVI L., Ph.D., Worcester.—The Worcester Directory, 1898.
- CONRAD, ARCTURUS Z., D.D., *Editor*, Worcester.—"The Old South Record," as issued.
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.
- CRITIC COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Critic."

CURRAN, MRS. MARY H., Bangor, Me.—Tributes to V. Rev. Michael C O'Brien.

CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His "Old Stores and Storekeepers of Fitchburg, Mass., 1764-1864."

DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.

DE LA ROCHELLE, P. G., Boston.—"La France," as issued.

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE AND COMPANY. New York.—Numbers of "The World's Work."

EARLE, MRS. ALICE MORSE, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Her "Old Time Gardens."

EARLE, STEPHEN C., Worcester.—His "The Rutland House of Major-General Rufus Putnam."

ELLSWORTH, J. LEWIS, Worcester.—"Public Services in Memory of Roger Wolcott."

EMERSON, P. H., London, England.—His "A Criticism of The Ipswich Emersons, alias 'The Emersons in America.'"

EVERETT, OLIVER H., M.D., Worcester.—One hundred and twenty-three books; sixty-six pamphlets; and "The Youth's Companion," for 1899 and 1900.

FELT, CHARLES W., Worcester.—His "Seed of Anarchy," No. 1.

FISHER, SYDNEY G., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "The American Revolution and the Boer War."

FISKE, WILLARD, Florence, Italy.—His "The Rev. Lewis Rou and the missing manuscript of his Tract relating to Chess."

FLAGG, SAMUEL, M.D., Worcester.—"The Nation," 1878-1901; and "The National Tribune," 1877-1901.

FORD, PAUL LEICESTER, *Editor*, New York.—"The Bibliographer," vol. 1, No. 1.

FROWDE, HENRY, London, Eng.—"The Periodical," as issued.

GAZETTE COMPANY, Worcester —"The Worcester Evening Gazette," as issued.

GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—"The Text Book Bulletin," as issued.

GOLDEN RULE COMPANY, Boston.—"The Christian Endeavor World," as issued.

GOODPASTURE BOOK COMPANY, Nashville, Tenn.—Numbers of "The American Historical Magazine and Tennessee Historical Society Quarterly."

GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—Twelve books; and thirteen pamphlets.

GREENLAW, MRS. LUCY H., Cambridge.—"The Genealogical Advertiser," as issued.

GREGSON, REV. JOHN, Wiscasset, Me.—Hancock's "Christian Statesman: Thomas Cranmer."

- GRUNDY, ALFRED, *Secretary*, Cedar Falls, Iowa.—Bulletins of the State Normal School.
- HALLOCK, CHARLES, Washington, D. C.—His "Origin of the American Indigines."
- HAMILTON, CHARLES, ESTATE OF, Worcester.—Ten copies of the reprint of the Vermont Acts and Laws of 1781.
- HARDING, Hon. GARRICK M., Clifton, Pa.—His "Wyoming and its Incidents."
- HARLOW, Major WILLIAM T., Worcester.—Facsimile of Capt. Nathan How's Commission, February 5, 1776.
- HITCHCOCK, Rev. EDWARD, LL.D., Amherst.—An early number of "The Hampshire Gazette."
- HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—Two historical pamphlets.
- HOSHI, HAJIME, New York.—"Japan and America," as issued.
- HOUSE, LOLABEL, Baltimore, Md.—His "Study of the Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States."
- HUBBARD, ELBERT, East Aurora, N. Y.—Numbers of "The Phillistine."
- JENKINS, LAWRENCE W., Salem.—One manuscript.
- JOHNSON, CHARLES R., Worcester.—Fifteen volumes of State documents.
- LANE, WILLIAM C., *Librarian*, Cambridge.—His fourth report as librarian of Harvard University.
- LAWTON, Mrs. S. E. REED-, Worcester.—Two early American imprints.
- LEYPOLDT, Mrs. AUGUSTA H., New York.—"Literary News," as issued.
- LINDSAY, JAMES L., LL.D., Wigan, Eng.—"Bibliotheca Lindesiana, Collations and Notes," No. 6.
- LIPPINCOTT, Miss CONSTANCE, Philadelphia, Pa.—Her "Maryland as a Palatinate."
- MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—"Book Reviews"; and "The Monthly List," as issued.
- MAY, THE MISSES, Leicester.—J. Simoni's "Lexicon Manuale Hebraicum et Chaldaicum"; two books; and twenty-nine pamphlets.
- MESSINGER COMPANY, Worcester.—"The Messenger," as issued.
- MORANG, GEORGE AND COMPANY.—Toronto, P. Q.—"The Monthly Review," as issued.
- MURRAY, DANIEL, Washington, D. C.—His "Paul Jennings and His Times—President Madison's Biographer and Valet."
- MURRAY, THOMAS H., Boston.—His "Charles MacCarthy, a Rhode Island Pioneer, 1677."
- MUSICAL COURIER COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Musical Courier."
- NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.

- PAINE, JAMES P., Worcester.—Parcels of English newspapers.
- PARKER, Mrs. HENRY L., JR., Worcester.—“A Tribute to Clark Jilson.”
- PILLET, ELLIS C., Worcester.—Seven books.
- PENAFIEL, ANTONIO, *Director*, Mexico, Mex.—Four official documents of the Republic of Mexico.
- PHELPS, Mrs. CHARLES E., Worcester.—Sixty-two books; two bound volumes of “Hearth and Home”; and four pamphlets.
- POST, Mrs. HELEN W., *Editor*, Seabreeze, Fla.—Numbers of “Freedom.”
- POTTER, Mrs. SARAH I., BEQUEST OF, Westborough.—An eight-legged maple table formerly owned by Rev. Nathaniel Maccarty of Worcester, Mass.
- PUTNAM, HERBERT, *Librarian*, Washington, D. C.—His report as Librarian of Congress, 1901; and three library publications.
- READE, Mrs. WILLIAM C., Beverly.—One pamphlet.
- REID, CHARLES C., M.D., Worcester.—“Osteopathic Health,” as issued.
- RICE, FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—Early numbers of Boston newspapers.
- RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—“The Board of Trade Journal,” as issued.
- ROBINSON FAMILY GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Officers, Constitution, etc., 1902.
- ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Ten pamphlets; and three magazines in continuation.
- ROE, ALFRED S., Worcester.—His “Worcester Y. M. C. A. Account of its Founding, Development, etc.”
- SCHURMAN, JACOB G., LL.D., *Chairman*, Ithaca, N. Y.—Report of the Philippine Commission.
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—“The Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel,” as issued.
- SMITH, J. SUMNER, New Haven, Conn.—His “Transliteration from the Russian.”
- SPENCER, EARLE, Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Chinese the Chosen.”
- SPOONER, Mrs. JENNIE C., Barre.—“The Barre Gazette,” as issued.
- SPY COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Massachusetts Spy,” and “The Worcester Daily Spy,” as issued.
- SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—The Fourteenth Report on Public Records.
- TAFT, Mrs. CALVIN, Worcester.—“The Red Man and Helper,” in continuation.
- THOMAS, CYRUS, Ph.D., Washington, D. C.—His “Mayan Calendar Systems”; and his “Numeral Systems of Mexico and Central America.”
- TIMES-MIRROR COMPANY, Los Angeles, Cal.—Numbers of the Times.
- TOWER, HENRY M., Spencer.—His “Historical Address at Spencer, November 8, 1901.”
- TRAVELER'S INSURANCE COMPANY.—“The Traveler's Record,” as issued.
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—“The Groton Landmark,” as issued.
- TWENTIETH CENTURY COMPANY., Worcester.—“The Chronopax,” as issued.

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- WARD, GEORGE O., M.D., Worcester.—Four medical books.
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- BOSTON TRANSIT COMMISSION.—The Commission's Seventh Annual Report.
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- BROWN UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.
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- BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—The "Monthly Bulletin," as issued.
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- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

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- GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
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- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- IOWA HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT.**—"The Annals of Iowa," as issued.
- IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—Library publications, as issued.
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GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY.

BY AUSTIN S. GARVER.

THERE is a very real sense in which Greece is the native land of us all; for we are re-born there consciously or unconsciously, before we truly live. The mind that has been touched by Homer, or Plato, or Pindar, or Phidias has a feeling of home for the land in which they lived. All its interests have a peculiar hold upon us, appealing as they do to the affections as well as to the imagination.

A residence of two months in Athens, although it be enriched by association with the American School there, and supplemented by excursions in the vicinity, and in the Peloponnesus as far as Sparta, does not entitle one to speak with authority upon archaeological subjects, but it gives one many new and profound impressions of the country and its people. The companionable size of Greece, the beauty of its scenery, in which mountain, sea and plain conspire together, the indescribable brilliancy of its atmosphere, the thrilling character of the associations in which every scene is rich, the vividness of ancient traditions, the fresh vitality of the modern spirit, the simplicity, dignity and graciousness of much of the life of the people today, all unite to make a visit to Greece one of the memorable experiences of life.

It is a marvel that the Greeks have survived at all; greater marvel still that they have come through all the centuries of oppression and misery with the best traditions of the past so strong, and with so much that is gentle and unspoiled in private character. And this fresh, new national life is showing itself in many interesting ways.

The city of Athens is itself a good illustration. It is as modern as any western capital; the visitor can lodge as well there as in Paris, he finds all the conveniences of travel and residence to which he is accustomed, and this year he will be able to ride in an electric car to the summer resort on the bay of Phaleron. The city has characteristics more truly its own. The cleanness of its streets, the sober dignity of its houses, the severe elegance of the costlier architecture, the cataracts of roses that in May roll out over the walls along the street, show how strong the love of beauty still is. The fine new buildings for the Academy, the Polytechnic, the National Museum, as well as those for schools and gymnasiums, which have all been erected at the expense of private individuals, are the evidence that the public spirit and the noble national pride which have marked the race are not extinct. We know how intense was the attachment of the ancient Athenian to his native city; something of that same love still lingers there, giving to the city, new as it is, a feeling and flavor of age, so that what else would be too modern seems to be seasoned with antiquity.

Besides, the ancient world lives side by side with the modern; it lives in the speech of the people, so that if you call a cab on the street, you use Homer's word for carriage; it lives in the names which parents give their children; it lives in the great temples and other monuments which still exist; and above all it lives in the fragments which have been long buried in the earth, and which in the last thirty years the spade of the archaeologist has brought to light.

The charm which the traveller feels in Greece is largely due to this blending of the old and the new in all his impressions. In no other country do the antiquities so connect themselves with the life of to-day. In no other country is there a more general interest and veneration for the past, a greater eagerness to search for every possible

trace of it that may still exist, or a more scrupulous care to preserve every vestige of its life. This interest was shown as long ago as 1858 in the founding of the Greek Archaeological Society. From that time dates a new era in Greek studies, though it was still many years before important work was done. The Greeks were too poor to bear the cost of unearthing the sites of cities and temples; they were too jealous to allow the work to be done by others. They were wise enough to recognize the necessity of aid from outside, and gradually, concessions were granted for the coöperation of foreign scholars. This wider interest is shown in the establishment in Athens of the various national schools of archaeology. First was the French, dating from near the middle of the last century; then came the German in 1874, the American in 1882, and the British in 1886.

Moreover it was some time before the scope and method of the new science of archaeology were determined, or before it obtained recognition as a science at all. Scholars who had been bred in the literary traditions, and who relied on the classic authors as the sources for the history, were inclined to scorn the pretensions of the humble ally, coming with shovel and wheelbarrow. When Schliemann began his excavations at Hissarlik in 1871, and when a few years later he reported the results of his labors there and at Mycenæ, he was ridiculed as an enthusiast, which he certainly was, and as an impractical dreamer, which he certainly was not. His conclusions have been revised, but his patient, systematic method showed the way for all who came after him. His example and success made it easier to persuade the German Government to appropriate large sums of money for the excavations at Olympia, and before that work was completed in 1881, scientific journals, for the purpose of recording and discussing the results obtained in the whole field of Greek archaeology, were established in nearly every civilized land. The "Journal of

Hellenic Studies," one the most valuable of these publications, begun in 1880, attests the great interest the new science had excited among British and American scholars. Year by year the work has been carried forward, until now most of the important sites have been uncovered. Each year vast and revolutionary additions have been made to the sum of knowledge.

It is not my purpose in this brief paper to describe the progress or the achievements of the science of archaeology, or to tell, as would be most gratifying, of the efficient and prominent part taken by our American school. I am concerned only with a few broad features which show how much the world is indebted to this newest of the sciences. The least of its services is the new light which it has thrown upon many a disputed point in classic history. The literary evidence alone is often conflicting and always meagre, and it has happened frequently that the discovery of a tablet, or inscription, or coin, has set at rest some question of place or date. A striking instance is furnished by the excavations at Ægina during the past year. It had been taken for granted that the temple there was erected in honor of Athena, because the central figure in one of the pediment groups was the statue of that goddess. In the spring of 1901, a few German scholars determined to make a more thorough examination of the site. Every handful of earth down to the solid rock was carefully sifted, and while no great finds were made, new material of extraordinary importance for the history of Ægina and of Greek civilization was discovered: among other things an inscription which proved that the temple belonged not to Athena, but to a local deity, Aphæa, and with the settlement of that question there came a fresh glimpse of the nature of Greek religion.

So it is that archaeology brings back what had been utterly lost. Let me remind you of another example. For centuries no one knew where to look for one of the most

ancient and venerated spots in Greece,—the dwelling of the spirit which, speaking through the leaves of the sacred oak, had guided half the world. The site of Dodona and its sanctuary of Zeus, had long been a subject of hopeless speculation. Colonel Leake, the English traveller, in 1835 lamented that all trace of it was lost beyond recovery. Every effort to locate it was fruitless. At last, about 1877, the finding of a large number of oracle inscriptions with dedications to Zeus, set the matter finally at rest.

But beyond the useful task of elucidation and verification, archaeological studies have immensely expanded our knowledge; they have opened into regions quite unknown before; the whole field of Greek history has been illuminated and widened, and a closer acquaintance with the manners and customs of the people has been made possible. Professor Gardner of Oxford has published a large volume with the significant title, "*New Chapters in Greek History.*" Every work on sculpture written twenty years ago would need to have large sections of wholly new material added to it, to bring it up to date; while the excavations now in progress in Crete, taken in connection with others made elsewhere, are furnishing the data for the reconstruction in great detail of a prehistoric Mycenæan civilization, which has hitherto been dim and mythical. From bits of pottery, coins and ornaments, from the wide distribution of similar objects all round the Mediterranean, from the evidences of wealth and architecture and commerce, has been constructed bit by bit the life of a mighty people, long antecedent to the historic Greeks. So great and revolutionary have been the results, that all Greek history has had to be rewritten from these new sources. Grote, for instance, who completed his monumental work in 1856, has a single reference to Mycenæ. All that he says of it is that it was the seat of a mythical race of kings. Since then Mycenæ has yielded up its secrets. Schliemann

discovered the graves of its heroes, whose treasures are one of the glories of the incomparable museum at Athens; and more recently, the palace of these mighty kings of prehistoric days has been brought to light on the Acropolis of Mycenæ, telling much of the splendor in which they lived; and more recently still, as I have said, abundant traces of this ancient civilization have been found on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean.

But the greatest service which archaeology renders to the ordinary student is its aid to the imagination. It touches the senses and through them wakes the spirit. To read a description of a scene from a book is one thing, to behold it with your eyes is another. I have still a leap of the heart when I recall the view from the top of Hymettus, one of the most thrilling views in the world. To the east was the strait separating the mainland from Eubœa, while the islands extended far along the horizon in an ever fainter line. To the south was the narrow mountainous promontory of Sunium, with its gleaming temple; beyond was the wide sweep of the deep blue waters of the Saronic gulf, with Ægina and Salamis in their midst; almost within reach were the Piræus and the curved beach of Phaleron. To the southwest, range behind range rose the headlands and mountains of the Peloponnesus, the higher summits covered with snow. To the west, the snowy back of Parnassus was lifted to the sky, the most imposing of the mountains that circled around to the north. And there, hemmed in by this mountain wall, in this most majestic, and most lovely setting, was the little Attic plain, with the city and acropolis in its centre. That was the day I saw Greece, and it was an impression such as could never be obtained from books.

So it is with the history. It is by contact with the real objects with which it deals that it gains a wonderful vividness and reality. When we take in our hands the very things which the ancients handled, the utensils they made

and used, the ornaments they wore; when we see their cups and swords and gems; when we note their burial customs, in which painted vase and sculptured relief reveal the thought of the living for the dead,—we are brought near to them, and seem to share the thoughts of which these objects are but the symbols. Greek life was the most objective of lives, and Greek archaeology by discovering the actual objects, has aided in restoring the most characteristic pictures of that life. High as is its service to science in increasing knowledge, it is to be honored yet more for its service to humanity in making that old life live again, and thus helping us recognize the "hills where our life rose" from which health still comes. For one might say of Greece itself what a Roman poet of the time of Augustus said of Eleusis: "Though thy life be fixed in one place, and thou neither sailest the sea, nor treadest the paths of the dry land, go at least to Eleusis, that thou mayest see those great mights, sacred to Demeter, through which thou shalt keep thy soul serene among the living, and go to join the great host with a lighter heart."

A BIT OF UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN HENRY D. THOREAU AND
ISAAC T. HECKER.

BY E. HARLOW RUSSELL.

At first thought, and in the light of later years, which revealed such a wide difference in the characters and careers of these two remarkable men, it seems surprising that Henry Thoreau and Isaac Hecker could ever have got into any personal relation whatever. But at the time of this little correspondence they were both young; and youth, no less than misery, acquaints us sometimes with strange bed-fellows. To be sure, both were ardent idealists, both were frank and sincere, both of high and knightly courage. Their armor was their honest thought, and simple truth their utmost skill. This must have been the ground of such sympathy as existed between them.

Hecker at this time had just spent the best part of a year in the spring-morning atmosphere of Brook Farm, then in its prime, where his genial and attaching disposition had won him not a few admiring friends, among whom was George William Curtis, who named the aspiring enthusiast "Ernest the Seeker"; and now, with his eager but somewhat irresolute hand in the strong grasp of Orestes Brownson, the youth was being half-led, half-impelled from within, toward the Catholic Church. He had recently been for some months a lodger in the house of Thoreau's mother at Concord, while taking lessons in Latin and Greek of George Bradford, whose rare worth as a teacher he had learned at Brook Farm. That was how his acquaintance with Thoreau came about. His studies, however, always

fitful and against the grain, had suddenly come to an end, smothered as it were or at least displaced by one of those high tides of inward unrest which visited him at intervals throughout his life. He had gone home to New York and prepared himself for baptism into the Church which appears to have been his destiny quite as much as his choice, when the notion came to him of the adventurous trip to Europe proposed to Thoreau on the spur of the moment in these letters.

This was in 1844, when Hecker was twenty-five. Thoreau, two years his senior, had graduated at Harvard seven years before, had taught school a little, and had tried his hand with effect at literary work. He too, like Hecker, was nearing a crisis in his life; namely, the hermit episode at Walden. For although that "experiment," as he himself called it (for Thoreau knew what he was about), lasted in its original form but little more than two years, it was distinctly the point of departure of his career, and laid out the course from which he never afterwards swerved.

The significance of this correspondence, slight as it is in form and manifestly unstudied in its content, lies in a certain prophetic note, all the more impressive from its unconsciousness, which especially in the case of Thoreau discloses the clearness of his self-knowledge and the consistency and firmness of his self-determination. Curtis, writing of young Hecker as he knew him at Brook Farm, says, "There was nothing ascetic or severe in him, but I have often thought since that his feeling was probably what he might have afterward described as a consciousness that he must be about his Father's business." While such a feeling is but vaguely if at all expressed in his two letters to Thoreau, it constitutes the very core and essence of Thoreau's response. Young as the latter was, unengaged as he seemed even to his intimate friend Channing (his best biographer), he had already heard and heeded the call of his Genius, and his vocation was thenceforth fixed.

In his ripest years, in his most considered utterance, he does but reiterate in substance the declaration of these letters when he says, in that masterpiece of his essays, "Life without Principle,"—"I have been surprised when one has with confidence proposed to me, a grown man, to embark in some enterprise of his, as if I had absolutely nothing to do, my life having been a complete failure hitherto. What a doubtful compliment this is to pay me! As if he had met me half-way across the ocean beating up against the wind, but bound nowhere, and proposed to me to go along with him! If I did, what do you think the underwriters would say? No, no! I am not without employment at this stage of the voyage. To tell the truth, I saw an advertisement for able-bodied seamen, when I was a boy sauntering in my native port, and as soon as I came of age I embarked."

On Hecker's side there was undoubtedly far less of serious purpose; his mood seems youthful, almost boyish; but the glow of it is genuine and characteristic, and I think his biographer, Father Elliott, misses its import when he turns the affair off lightly as "but one of the diversions with which certain souls, not yet enlightened as to their true course, nor arrived at the abandonment of themselves to Divine Providence, are amused." To my mind, these two letters of Hecker's clearly reveal the temperament, at once impetuous and volatile, that went with the man through his troubled life and gave him much of his influence and distinction, as well as cast him oft-times into the fire and oft into the water.

But it is time to let the correspondence speak for itself.

HECKER TO THOREAU.

HENRY THOREAU:

It was not altogether the circumstance of our immediate physical nearness, though this may have [been] the consequence of a higher affinity, that inclined us to commune with each other. This I am fully sensible [of]

since our separation. Oftentimes we observe ourselves to be passive or co-operative agents of profounder principles than we at the time even dream of.

I have been stimulated to write to you at this present moment on account of a certain project which I have formed, which your influence has no slight share, I imagine, in forming. It is, to work our passage to Europe, and to walk, work, and beg if needs be, as far when there as we are inclined to do. We wish to see how it looks, and to court difficulties; for we feel an unknown depth of untried virgin strength which we know of no better way at the present time to call into activity and so dispose of. We desire to go without purse or staff, depending upon the all-embracing love of God, Humanity, and the spark of courage imprisoned in us. Have we the will, we have the strong arms, hard hands to work with, and sound feet to stand upon and walk with. The heavens shall be our vaulted roof, and the green earth beneath our bed and for all other furniture purposes. These are free and may be so used. What can hinder us from going, but our bodies, and shall they do it? We can as well deposit them there as here. Let us take a walk over the fairest portions of this planet Earth and make it ours by seeing them. Let us see what the genius and stupidity of our honored forefathers have heaped up. We wish to kneel at their shrines and embrace their spirits and kiss the ground which they have hallowed with their presence. We shall prove the dollar is not almighty, and the impossible, moonshine. The wide world is before us beckoning us to come, let us accept and embrace it. Reality shall be our antagonist, and our lives, if sold, not at a good bargain, for a certainty. How does the idea strike you? I prefer at least to go this way before going farther in the woods. The past let us take with us; we reverence, we love it; but forget not that our eyes are in our face, set to the beautiful unimagined future. Let us be Janus-faced, with a beard [-ed] and [a] beardless face. Will you accept this invitation? Let me know what your impressions are as soon as it is your pleasure.

Remember me to your kind family. Tomorrow I take the first step towards becoming a *visible* member of the Roman Catholic Church. If you and your good family do

not become greater sinners, I shall claim you all as good catholics, for she claims "all baptised infants, all innocent children of every religious denomination; and all grown up Christians who have preserved their baptismal innocence, though they make no outward profession of the catholic faith, are yet claimed as her children by the Roman Catholic Church."

Yours very truly,

ISAAC HECKER.

N. Y., Thursday, July 31, 1844.

THOREAU TO HECKER.

Concord, Aug. 14, 1844.

Friend HECKER,—

I am glad to hear your voice from that populous city, and the more so for the tenor of its discourse. I have but just returned from a pedestrian excursion somewhat similar to that you propose, *parvis componere magna*, to the Catskill mountains, over the principal mountains of this State, subsisting mainly on bread and berries, and slumbering on the mountain tops. As usually happens, I now feel a slight sense of dissipation. Still, I am strongly tempted by your proposal, and experience a decided schism between my outward and inward tendencies. Your method of travelling, especially—to live along the road, citizens of the world, without haste or petty plans—I have often proposed this to my dreams, and still do. But the fact is, I cannot so decidedly postpone exploring the *Farther Indies*, which are to be reached, you know, by other routes and other methods of travel. I mean that I constantly return from every external enterprise with disgust, to fresh faith in a kind of Brahminical, Artesian, Inner Temple life. All my experience, as yours probably, proves only this reality. Channing wonders how I can resist your invitation, I, a single man—unfettered,—and so do I. Why, there are Roncesvalles, the Cape de Finisterre, and the Three Kings of Cologne; Rome, Athens, and the rest, to be visited in serene untemporal hours, and all history to revive in one's memory, as he went by the way, with splendors too bright for this world—I know how it is. But is not here too Roncesvalles with greater lustre? Unfortunately, it may prove dull and desultory weather

enough here, but better trivial days with faith than the fairest ones lighted by sunshine alone. Perchance my *Wanderjahr* has not arrived, but you cannot wait for that. I hope you will find a companion who will enter as heartily into your schemes as I should have done.

I remember you, as it were, with the whole Catholic Church at your skirts. And the other day, for a moment, I think I understood your relation to that body; but the thought was gone again in a twinkling, as when a dry leaf falls from its stem over our heads, but is instantly lost in the rustling mass at our feet.

I am really sorry that the Genius will not let me go with you, but I trust that it will conduct to other adventures, and so, if nothing prevents, we will compare notes at last.

Yrs. &c.,

HENRY D. THOREAU.

HECKER TO THOREAU.

I know not but I shall receive an answer to the letter I sent you a fortnight ago, before you will receive this one; however, as the idea of making an indefinite pedestrian tour on the other side of the Atlantic has in all possible ways increased in my imagination and given me a desire to add a few more words on the project, I will do so, in the hope of stimulating you to a decision. How the thought has struck you I know not; its impracticability or impossibility in the judgment of others, would not, I feel assured, deter you in any way from the undertaking; it would rather be a stimulus to the purpose, I think, in you, as it is in me. 'Tis impossible; sir, therefore we do it. The conceivable is possible; it is in harmony with the inconceivable we should act. Our true life is in the can-not. To do what we can do is to do nothing, is death. Silence is much more respectable than repetition.

The idea of making such a tour I have opened to one or two who I thought might throw some light on the subject. I asked the opinion of the Catholic Bishop [McCloskey] who has travelled considerably in Europe. But I find that in every man there are certain things within him which are beyond the ken and counsel of others. The age is so effeminate that it is too timid to give heroic counsel. It neither will enter the kingdom of heaven nor have others

to do so. I feel, and believe you feel so too, that to doubt the ability to realize such a thought is only worthy of a smile and pity. We feel ourself mean in conceiving such a feasible thing, and would keep it silent. This is not sufficient self-abandonment for our being, scarce enough to affect it. To die is easy, scarce worth a thought; but to be and live is an inconceivable greatness. It would be folly to sit still and starve from mere emptiness, but to leave behind the casement in battling for some hidden idea is an altitude beyond conception, a monument more durable than the chisel can sculpture.

I imagine us walking among the past and present greatness of our ancestors (for the present in fact, the present of the old world, to us is ancient) doing reverence to their remaining glory. If, though, I am inclined to bow more lowly to the spiritual hero than to the exhibition of great physical strength, still not all of that primitive heroic blood of our forefathers has been lost before it reached our veins. We feel it swell sometimes as though it were cased in steel, and the huge broad-axe of Cœur de Lion seems glittering before us, and we awake in another world as in a dream.

I know of no other person but you that would be inclined to go on such an excursion. The idea and yourself were almost instantaneous. If needs be, for a few dollars we can get across the ocean. The ocean! if but to cross this being like being, it were not unprofitable. The Bishop thought it might be done with a certain amount of funds to depend on. If this makes it practicable for others, to us it will be but sport. It is useless for me to speak thus to you, for if there are reasons for your not going they are others than these.

You will inform me how you are inclined as soon as practicable. Half inclined I sometimes feel to go alone if I cannot get your company. I do not know now what could have directed my steps to Concord other than this. May it prove so.

It is only the fear of death makes us reason of impossibilities. We shall possess all if we but abandon ourselves.

Yours sincerely,

ISAAC.

N. Y., August 15, '44.
To HENRY THOREAU.

THOREAU TO HECKER.

I improve the occasion of my mother's sending to acknowledge the receipt of your stirring letter. You have probably received mine by this time. I thank you for not anticipating any vulgar objections on my part. *Far* travel, very *far* travel, or travail, comes near to the worth of staying at home. Who knows whence his education is to come! Perhaps I may drag my anchor at length, or rather, when the *winds* which blow *over* the deep fill my sails, may stand away for distant parts—for now I seem to have a firm *ground* anchorage, though the harbor is low-shored enough, and the traffic with the natives inconsiderable—I may be away to Singapore by the next tide.

I like well the ring of your last maxim—"It is only the fear of death makes us reason of impossibilities." And but for fear, death itself is an impossibility.

Believe me, I can hardly let it end so. If you do not go soon let me hear from you again.

Yrs. in great haste,

HENRY D. THOREAU.

(Subjoined note, apparently in Hecker's handwriting:—"The proposition made to Thoreau was to take nothing with us, work our passage across the Atlantic, and so through England, France, Germany and Italy. I. T. H.")

It was not permitted the youthful enthusiasts to "compare notes at last." From that hour their paths widely diverged. In a twelvemonth the Atlantic, and more than the Atlantic, lay between them. The novitiate had joined the order of the Redemptorist Fathers at St. Trond in Belgium; and the hermit, "the bachelor of thought and Nature," as Emerson calls him, was in his cabin on the wooded shore of Walden Pond. Neither ever looked back, and it is doubtful if they ever met again. The ardent propagandist did indeed pursue Thoreau, as he pursued Curtis, with kindly-meant letters of fervent appeal to enter with him the labyrinth of the Catholic Church; but he might as well have called after a wild deer in the forest or an eagle in the upper air.

The work which these men did in after years cannot, it seems to me, be profitably compared. It will inevitably be judged from opposite points of view. It is idle to talk of more or less where the difference is one not of degree but of kind.

However, with aims and means so diverse and exclusive as to be distinctly antagonistic, Thoreau and Hecker possessed in common one predominant characteristic, namely, a redoubtable egoism—using the term in no disparaging sense, something that suggests what is called in physics the hydrostatic paradox, in virtue of which the smallest single drop of water holds its own against the ocean. The manifestation of this quality, however, as a trait of character was wholly unlike in the two, even apparently to the point of diametric opposition. In Thoreau its development was outward and obvious, in rugged features of eccentricity and self-sufficiency sculptured as it were in high relief against the background of society and custom. He was well practised in the grammar of dissent. As Emerson says, "It cost him nothing to say No; indeed, he found it much easier than to say Yes." It was nothing for him to declare, and to repeat in one form or another on almost every page of his writings, "the greater part of what my neighbors call good I believe in my soul to be bad." This he says without emphasis as if it were a matter of course, scarcely calculated to provoke surprise or dissent. The selfsame quality in Hecker, on the contrary, took the subtle and illusive shape of obedience to an Inward Voice, never suspected of being his own, always projected as a Brocken spectre upon the clouds, not unlike the *daemon* of Socrates, and which thus wore the guise of self-effacement and pious submission to the immediate and almost articulate behests of a divine authority. The figure of Hecker's egoism was engraved in his nature like a die or an intaglio, while in Thoreau, as I have said, it was reversed and stood out with the bold relief of a cameo. But the

lineaments were the same in both, with only this difference, that Thoreau's personal pronoun was *I*, and Hecker's was *It*.

The late Professor Clifford was wont to maintain that there is a special theological faculty or insight, analogous to the scientific, poetic, and artistic faculty; and that the persons in whom this genius is exceptionally developed are the founders of religions and religious orders. It is apparent that Isaac Hecker's nature from his youth partook largely of this quality. He early showed an affinity with the supersensible and the supernatural, was easily "possessed," his mind on that side being primitive and credulous to a degree. Such logic as he had—and his writings are full of it—was the logic of instinct and feeling, not of fact. To him, possibilities, if conceivable and desirable, easily became probabilities, and probabilities certainties. With this temperament, which Curtis mildly characterizes as "sanguine," it is not difficult to understand why the paramount purpose of his life should have been to establish in this country a propaganda of such persuasive power as to sweep the American people *en masse* into the Catholic Church, and it was upon this object that all his energies and hopes were centred in a burning focus of endeavor.

The genius of Thoreau moved in a totally different plane. He was preëminently of this world, both in its actual and ideal aspects, and he found it so rich and satisfying to his whole nature that he yearned for no other. Channing aptly names him "poet-naturalist," for he united in harmonious combination accurate perception of external facts and relations, with an imaginative insight and sympathy that easily and habitually transcended the scope of mere science and ratiocination. He possessed not only feet, but wings, and was equally at home on the solid ground of natural law and in the airy spaces of fancy. Time, which he said was the stream he went a-fishing in, time and the world about him,—these were the adapted and sufficient

habitat of his soul. He held it but poor philosophy to make large drafts on the past or the future or the elsewhere. Nature was his heaven, and the present moment his immortality. Hear what he writes in his Journal, under date of November 1, 1858, less than four years before his death: "There is no more tempting novelty than this new November. No going to Europe or to another world is to be named with it. Give me the old familiar walk, post-office and all, with this ever new self, with this infinite expectation and faith which does not know when it is beaten. We'll go nutting once more. We'll pluck the nut of the world and crack it in the winter evenings. Theatres and all other sight-seeing are puppet shows in comparison. I will take another walk to the cliff, another row on the river, another skate on the meadow, be out in the first snow, and associate with the winter birds. Here I am at home. In the bare and bleached crust of the earth, I recognize my friend. . . . This morrow that is ever knocking with irresistible force at our door, there is no such guest as that. I will stay at home and receive company. I want nothing new. If I can have but a tithe of the old secured to me, I will spurn all wealth besides. Think of the consummate folly of attempting to go away from *here*. . . . How many things can you go away from? They see the comet from the northwest coast just as plainly as we do, and the same stars through its tail. Take the shortest way round and stay at home. A man dwells in his native valley like a corolla in its calyx, like an acorn in its cup. Here, of course, is all that you love, all that you expect, all that you are. Here is your bride-elect, as close to you as she can be got. Here is all the best and the worst you can imagine. What more do you want? Foolish people think that what they imagine is somewhere else. That stuff is not made in any factory but their own."

To clarify and keep sane his vision, bodily and spiritual ;

to observe, to record, to interpret; to glorify and enjoy to the full the life that here and now is,—this was Thoreau's mission; and he fulfilled it to the end, through evil report and good report, "more straining on for plucking back." Nor did his determination waver or his ardor blanch in the very face of death, as the following incident strikingly attests:—

A few days before he died his friend, Parker Pillsbury (of anti-slavery fame), made a brief farewell call at his bedside, and he closes his scrupulous account of the interview in these words: "Then I spoke only once more to him, and cannot remember my exact words. But I think my question was substantially this: 'You seem so near the brink of the dark river, that I almost wonder how the opposite shore may appear to you.' Then he answered: 'One world at a time.'"

THE KING ALFRED MILLENNIAL.

BY EDWIN D. MEAD.

It was an honor and a great pleasure to be present, as the representative of the American Antiquarian Society, at the celebration of the King Alfred millennial at Winchester last September. To all men of English blood, any commemoration of Alfred has high significance. As we call Washington the father of his country, so we may properly call Alfred the father of the English race and of English political institutions. "Alfred," said Sir Walter Besant, speaking at the meeting held in Winchester to arrange for the Commemoration, "is and will always remain the typical man of our race — call him Anglo-Saxon, call him American, call him Englishman, call him Australian — the typical man of our race at his best and noblest. I like to think that the face of the Anglo-Saxon at his best and noblest is the face of Alfred. I am quite sure that the mind of the Anglo-Saxon at his best and noblest is the mind of Alfred; that the aspirations, the hopes, the standards of the Anglo-Saxon at his best and noblest are the aspirations, the hopes, the standards of Alfred. When our monument takes shape and form, let it somehow recognize this great, this cardinal fact. Let it show somehow by the example of Alfred the Anglo-Saxon at his best and noblest — here within the circle of the narrow seas, or across the ocean; wherever King Alfred's language is spoken; wherever King Alfred's laws prevail; into whatever fair lands of the wide world King Alfred's descendants have penetrated."

The commemoration at Winchester last autumn was, as all very well know, of the millennial of the death of Alfred.

As a matter of fact, there is some doubt as to whether 1901 was the true millennial year. There is controversy as to whether Alfred did not die a year or two before 901, or a year or two after. As to the year of his birth the authorities seem to be agreed. He was born at Wantage, in Berkshire, in 849. On the twenty-fifth of October, 1849, a public meeting was held in the town of Wantage to celebrate the millennial of his birth. Twenty thousand people gathered for that celebration. A select number of one hundred persons dined together on that day at the Alfred's Head near Wantage, and declared to the world that the name of Alfred, who on that spot first saw the light, should not be forgotten. This meeting was attended, we read, "by guests from every part of England and from America, that hopeful mother of future Anglo-Saxons, as well as from Germany, that ancient cradle of our common race"; and it was then and there resolved "that a Jubilee Edition of the works of King Alfred the Great, with copious literary, historical and pictorial illustrations, should be immediately undertaken, to be edited by the most competent Anglo-Saxon scholars who might be willing to combine for such a purpose." Various learned societies had repeatedly before this taken into consideration such a plan; a few of the leading scholars in Anglo-Saxon history and literature had had intentions in this direction; and transcripts of several of Alfred's works had been made by certain persons, and were actually almost ready for the press. Under the impulse given by the millennial celebration at Wantage, these various forces and ambitions were united and organized; and the fine edition of the complete works of Alfred, in two volumes, published a few years later, was the result.

The only place where I have happened to find any important reference to this celebration of the millenary of King Alfred's birth is, of all places in the world, Martin Farquhar Tupper's autobiography—which altogether is a more useful and a more interesting volume than some of you

might guess. Tupper had some admirable enthusiasms ; and one of the noblest was that for Alfred the Great. He tells us that the movement for the celebration at Wantage was undertaken by Mr. Evelyn, the brothers Brereton, Dr. Giles, and himself ; and I suspect that no one worked harder for it than he. Meetings and banquets to promote the celebration were held in several places, a notable one at Liverpool : and a commemorative medal was struck. I think that Dr. Giles, one of the best of the English Alfred scholars, lived at Liverpool ; and Tupper tells us that the printing of the Jubilee Edition of Alfred's works was begun, about the time of the celebration, at Dr. Giles's private printing-press. Few magnates responded to the invitation to Wantage, we are told ; but the common people evidently came gladly and in large numbers. There were several Americans—in particular, one Richardson, a literary man, whoever he may have been. Perhaps the said Richardson wrote an account of the affair ; and some member of the American Antiquarian Society may discover it before our next meeting. "My Anglo-Saxon Magazine," says Tupper, "came out strong on the occasion—but is now obsolete." He prints a hymn which he composed for the occasion, "Today is the day of a thousand years," which is much better than most such occasional hymns ; and the translations which he prepared for the Jubilee Edition of Alfred's poetical version of Boethius are surely something to be grateful for.

We spent a delightful day in and about Wantage last June. The famous old town, as every reader of "Tom Brown at Rugby" will remember, is in the Vale of the White Horse, in Berkshire, only some twenty miles south-west of Oxford. Uffington, the place where Thomas Hughes was born, and which he loved so warmly all his life, is not many miles away. It was there that we left the train to drive to the top of Ashdown hill, upon whose northern slope the great white horse is cut—probably was cut in Alfred's time, as a memorial of his Ashdown victory. One sees it

plainly from the train for many miles, as one rides through the beautiful broad valley, from Didcot to Swindon. It is, perhaps, half a dozen miles south of Uffington station; and on the way one passes the hill on the top of which St. George slew the dragon—whose blood has kept the grass from growing on the top of the hill ever since. The slope of Ashdown hill is very steep, and as one clammers up one passes directly beside the great figure of the horse, cut in the chalk and periodically "scoured." The view from the hill is magnificent. The earth-works on the summit are very extensive; and in the British Museum you can read the controversies about their origin. On the hill you will choose to believe that the Danes held them at the beginning of the battle, and the Saxons at the end. You will be told that the old road along the top of the ridge is a Roman road; and as you drive over a section of it on your way to Wantage, the story will help, along with the analysis of the Athanasian creed and of the former and latter prices of clothes by your driver from the Uffington tap-room, to make your drive interesting. The famous "blowing stone," which legend connects with Alfred, beside the road at the foot of the hill, sometime before you reach Wantage, also helps.

Wantage itself, when you come to it, is much like a hundred other English market towns. To me all English towns are interesting; but there are many more beautiful and interesting English towns than Wantage. The market-place is the centre of things; and in the centre of the market-place is a colossal statue of King Alfred. It is not a work of art, like Thornycroft's great work at Winchester; but it is sturdy and impressive—although not so impressive as the inscription, which we thought so good that I copy it here.

" Alfred found learning dead,
And he restored it;
Education neglected,
And he revived it;
The laws powerless,
And he gave them force;

The Church debased,
And he raised it;
The land ravaged by a fearful enemy,
From which he delivered it."

Wantage is known not only as the birthplace of Alfred the Great, but also of Bishop Butler. The fact that the great bishop was born there is not, however, so notorious in Wantage itself today as the fact that Richard Croker lives there; for our Tammany "boss" has chosen Wantage for his English home; and he and his house and his horses and his bull-dogs have prominent place in the photographer's shop where you buy your Alfred pictures.

Near the market-place is the beautiful parish church; and beside the churchyard is the vicarage. The vicar, Rev. Canon Archer Houblon, whom I found most courteous and helpful, is an enthusiast concerning Wantage, where he was born in 1849, the year of the Alfred millennial at Wantage. From him I learned of the little book on "Wantage Past and Present," which was prepared by Miss Agnes Gibbons and Mr. E. C. Davey, and which was published before I came home from England. It is such an excellent book, with its many illustrations, that I want to commend it to all who may be interested in Wantage and King Alfred. It was supplied to subscribers at five shillings; and Canon Houblon received orders. To most of us the chapter on the Anglo-Saxon period is the most interesting; and here one may read the evidence as to the exact spot in the outskirts of the town where stood the "royal villa" in which Alfred was born.

It is not possible here to say much about the various places in England associated with Alfred; nor, indeed, does my specific task impose it. Alfred Austin, the present poet laureate—who also wrote a drama concerning Alfred, with a really excellent historical introduction—wrote a little poem upon Alfred a few years ago, the last verse of which contains so good a geographical lesson relating to Alfred

that I commended it to our boys and girls at the Old South to learn by heart.

“ But with his name four other names attune,
Which from oblivion guardian song may save :
Lone Athelney, victorious Ethandune,
Wantage his cradle, Winchester his grave.”

Athelney, Ethandune, Wantage and Winchester are the four important Alfred places. Winchester, Athelney and Shaftesbury are the places where the great king's famous abbeys were founded ; and about these abbeys there is a special book, by J. Charles Wall, published a year or two ago. As to just where “victorious Ethandune” was there is considerable controversy. The common notion has been that it was the present Edington, near Westbury, in Wiltshire ; but Rev. Charles W. Whistler has recently published a critical pamphlet, which I have, arguing that it was another Edington, about half way between Athelney and Wedmore, where the peace was concluded. Bishop Clifford also, as appears below, inclined to this opinion. I did not visit Athelney ; but during the week of the Winchester celebration I cut from one of the London newspapers an account of it, which I found so interesting that I incorporate it.

“ Few historic spots are better known to us by name than the Isle of Athelney ; and certainly there were few things that had more attraction for us when we first began to listen to the early pages of our rough island story than the tale of Alfred and the cakes. With the career of the great king, with his indomitable courage, his long struggle against the Danes, his care of the navy, his love of learning and of song, the writings of Pauli, of Freeman, and of Green have made us all familiar. But what we remember best is the record of that terrible winter when the fate of England was trembling in the balance, when the king, hard pressed by swarming enemies, fell back for a brief breathing-space to the heart of the Somersetshire marshes. We are too apt to think of him as a solitary fugitive. But although those who were with him in his retreat were few, his army was at no great distance ; and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle expressly says that he was able to make frequent attacks upon the Danes. ‘It was only later legend,’ says Green, in speaking of King Alfred's gallant stand, ‘that changed it into a solitary flight, as it turned the three months of Alfred's stay into three years of hiding. The three

months were, in fact, months of active preparation for a new struggle.'

"The scene of the King's retirement is one of the spots about whose identity there is no dispute. We may stand today upon the very ground where Alfred built his fortress—an insignificant rising in the vast green plain that stretches so far across the heart of Somerset, hardly to be noticed in the wide expanse of moor. But the ten centuries have changed the face of things altogether. This is not the Athelney that Alfred knew. In his time, as we learn from his friend and biographer, Asser, the island was surrounded by vast peat-bogs, crossed only by paths known to none but to the moor-men, by forests of alder-trees, the haunt of the red-deer and the roebuck, while beyond all lay wide sheets of shallow water. The meres have long been drained. The peat is there still, but the bogs are gone. Gone, too, are the red-deer and the roebuck; and in the rich meadows that fringe the slow moving moorland streams whose meeting-place is a mile distant from the island is some of the best grazing-ground in England. The Isle of Athelney of our times consists of rather more than twenty acres of ground, divided by a slight hollow into nearly equal parts. On the top of the eastern half stands the monument, a stumpy and inconspicuous obelisk, that was set up just a hundred years since to commemorate Alfred's deliverance from his enemies. On the slight slope below it is a farm which occupies, it is believed, the very spot where, ten years after Guthrum's overthrow, the King established a monastery as a mark of gratitude for his victory, and in fulfilment, so the legend says, of a vow that he had made after St. Cuthbert had appeared to him in a vision and assured him of his coming triumph. Athelney, as has been well observed, was endeared to the King by many memories. It had afforded him shelter in his dark hour. It was here that he saw the comforting vision of St. Cuthbert. Here he divided his one loaf with the beggar. From here he went out alone to reconnoitre the hostile camp, venturing boldly among the armed warriors, who gathered round the wandering minstrel,

Unconscious of the coming fight,
When that skilled hand, that swept so light
The harp-strings, would with sterner grasp
The shaft of vengeful war-axe clasp.

Here, too, were spoilt those famous cakes, the smell of whose burning has lasted for a thousand years. There is nothing improbable, by the way, in the cake story; and the men of the West Country note with pleasure that some high authorities, at any rate, no longer regard it as an idle tale.

"Of the monastery itself not one stone is left standing on another. In 1674, when some of the ruins were still to be seen, and were being cleared away, the foundations of the abbey church

were discovered, and the workmen found, with other relics, a golden spur. A century later a vault was found, some sixty yards from the present farmhouse, and parts of what may have been an oratory. Encaustic tiles have frequently been ploughed up on the spot, and these, together with a few fragments of carved stone, a coin or two, and a leaden water-bottle, lost here perhaps by some pilgrim, are all that remain of what, to judge from the descriptions of those who saw it in its prime, must have been one of the most beautiful, though at the same time, as was to be expected from the limited area of the site, far from being one of the largest monasteries in the county. Of its history Mr. Hugo collected some very curious details which, however, present no striking features. One interesting point is that the Abbot, like others of his rank in the county, was fined by Henry VII. for having 'aided and comforted' the Cornish rebels in their march across Somersetshire.

"The famous jewel, often said to have been found at Athelney, was dug up in 1693, not here, but at Newton Park, more than three miles west-north-west of the island; but there can be little doubt that it really is a relic of the monastery. It is of gold, shaped something like the head of a tennis-racquet, about two and a half inches long, nearly an inch and a quarter broad, and not quite half an inch thick. In front is an oval plate of rock-crystal a tenth of an inch thick, through which is seen the figure of a man holding a fleur-de-lys in each hand. The figure and the space surrounding it are covered with coloured enamel, red, blue, and green. Round the edge of the jewel is the legend, in Saxon characters: AELFRED . MEC . HEHT . GEWERCAN ('Alfred had me made'). The lower part of the gem forms a tube, in which a gold rivet is still visible. This tube, no doubt, once held a slender stem of wood or ivory; and the late Bishop Clifford's suggestion is probably the right one, that the whole was a pointer for a reader or a precentor, and that it was presented to the abbey by King Alfred himself.

"The site of the battle at Ethandune, in which Alfred broke for a time the power of the Danes, and the position of the fortress where Guthrum still held out for a fortnight after his defeat, are to some extent matters in dispute. It is true that most authorities seem inclined to identify Edington in Wiltshire with the place of battle. But Bishop Clifford considered that there was good evidence that the fight took place not in the neighbouring county, but in Somersetshire itself, at another Edington, on the Polden Hills, seven miles north of Athelney. Three miles to the east of the island, built, like all the moorland villages, on a slight rising in the great plain, so as to be out of the way of the winter floods, is Aller — Oller, as the people call it — in whose little church may still be seen what is believed to be the very font in which were baptised the heathen leader and thirty of his captains. Wedmore,

the scene of the 'chrism-loosing,' and the place where was signed one of the most memorable treaties in our history, is twelve miles north of Aller. It was at Wedmore, in the summer-palace whose massy foundations were brought to light some years since, on the thousandth anniversary of the signing of the peace, that the English King entertained his humbled antagonist. That Somersetshire should have been chosen for the site of a royal palace is not surprising. The Mendip Hills, from whose southern verge Wedmore is but four miles as the crow flies, were a favorite hunting-ground of the Saxon Kings. In the little town of Axbridge is still preserved a copy of an ancient manuscript which records how King Edmund was nearly carried over the edge of the Cheddar Cliffs by a runaway horse while hunting in the Mendip Forest; and the same document mentions that Athelstan, Edred, Edgar and the sainted Edward were accustomed to come down here in the summer to follow the red-deer among the hills.

"The ancient setting of the Isle of Athelney has long since disappeared. No trace of Alfred's fortress or of the abbey that occupied its site is left. But there is no change in the everlasting hills. The forest, it is true, is gone. But the parish boundaries, the very fields, some even of the old cart tracks, are much as they were in that memorable winter a thousand years since, when the greatest of the Saxon Kings sought shelter in the Somersetshire marshes."

The millennial naturally gave birth to much new Alfred literature in England. Perhaps the most useful book was that entitled, "Alfred the Great," edited by Mr. Alfred Bowker, the mayor of Winchester and secretary of the committee on the commemoration, issued some time before that event, with a view to diffusing public knowledge of the king's life and work. There is a preface by Mr. Bowker; a general introduction by Sir Walter Besant, which is in substance the address delivered by him in the Guildhall of Winchester at the first public meeting held in Winchester in behalf of the commemoration; and this is followed by a series of special essays on the various aspects of Alfred's life and work: "Alfred as King," by Frederic Harrison; "Alfred as a Religious Man and an Educationalist," by the Bishop of Bristol; "Alfred as a Warrior," by Charles Oman; "Alfred as a Geographer," by Sir Clements Markham; "Alfred as a Writer," by Professor John Earle; "English

Law before the Norman Conquest," by Sir Frederick Pollock; and "Alfred and the Arts," by Rev. W. J. Loftie. In the new volume of American Addresses, by Frederic Harrison, are included his valuable general paper upon Alfred and his special study of Alfred's writings. Mr. W. J. Sedgefield, of Cambridge University, has published a new translation of King Alfred's version of the Consolations of Boethius; new editions of the various chronicles concerning Alfred have been prepared; and half a dozen new popular biographies have appeared. The London School Board arranged Alfred celebrations in all the London schools; and the handbooks prepared in this connection, and in various other connections, are admirable. In the British Museum there was a superb exhibition, for several weeks, of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and other material illustrating the Alfred period; and in the Museum at midsummer there was a great meeting, presided over by our American minister, Mr. Choate, at which Frederic Harrison gave the same address upon Alfred which he had given several times in America the previous spring and which, taking Mr. Fiske's place, he gave at Winchester in September.

It is about Winchester, of course, that the memories of the great king chiefly cluster; and Winchester was the centre of interest in the millennial year. "It seems unnecessary to urge," wrote Sir Walter Besant, "that a monument to Alfred must be set up in Winchester, and not in London or in Westminster or anywhere else. Here lies the dust of the kings, his ancestors, and of the kings, his successors. Thirty-five of his line made Winchester their capital; twenty were buried in the cathedral. In this city Alfred received instruction from St. Swithin. The city was already old and venerable when Alfred was a boy. He was buried first in the cathedral, and afterwards in the abbey, which he himself founded, hard by. The name of Alfred's country, well-nigh forgotten except by scholars, has been revived of late years by a Wessex man, Thomas Hardy. But the name of

Alfred's capital continues in the venerable and historic city of Winchester, which yields to none in England for the monuments and the memories of the past."

Winchester was fortunate in having as its mayor at this millennial time, in the person of Mr. Alfred Bowker, one who, although a young man, is peculiarly proud of the monuments and memories of Winchester, thoroughly alive to their significance, a warm lover of Alfred the Great, a man with genuine antiquarian interests and true historical feeling, of high public spirit and a winning personality, zealously devoted to the larger interests of his ancient city, and an indefatigable worker. I have spoken of the book on Alfred which he edited. He was from the beginning the secretary of the committee on the commemoration, and its real executive. He worked untiringly and most intelligently for three years to make the commemoration what it ought to be; and its success was due to him far more than to any other. If any other name is to be coupled with his, it should be that of Frederic Harrison.

Winchester is one of the most beautiful and attractive as well as one of the most historic of the cathedral cities of England. Canterbury alone among the cathedrals has more of English history built into it than the great minster in Alfred's city. Lincoln, rising among the old homes of the Pilgrims and Puritans, is perhaps more interesting to the New Englander; but no other of the cathedrals is to him so eloquent in its speech of the past. Few others are architecturally more noble; and the great nave especially, the work of Wykeham, is unsurpassed.

Our first visit to Winchester was not in the week of the millennial. We had been there also in the June days, when the English country is at its greenest and most beautiful. We came by the way of the Surrey hills and villages and by Selborne, where Gilbert White lived out and wrote out his "Natural History." Winchester lies in the very midst of Hampshire, whose capital it is, surrounded by well wooded

hills,—although they were far better wooded in Alfred's time than in ours. The little river Itchen winds through the town now as it did then. It is one of the streams in which Izaak Walton loved to fish. He is buried in the cathedral, as is Jane Austen, whose modest little home is still pointed out in a narrow street near by ; and their simple memorials draw quite as many pilgrims as the great tombs of the cardinals and kings. Four or five miles only from Winchester is Hursley, with its beautiful parish church, venerated by churchmen as the scene of the labors of Keble, who sleeps beside it.

But all of these fair pictures, with the great school—which ranks with Eton and Harrow and Rugby—the city cross, and almost all besides that makes Winchester so attractive to us, we must brush away when we think of Alfred's city. That was a much smaller city, a walled city, with little in it like what is in Winchester today, save the courses of the High street and a few other of the principal streets. The cathedral then, as now, was the central feature ; but it was not the noble structure which we know, but a church of simple architecture, built up again from the ruins of that which the Danes had destroyed a century before. St. Swithin, who had been Alfred's tutor and was Winchester's patron saint, was buried outside of the cathedral, and his grave drew pilgrims to the city. Of the cathedral that Alfred restored nothing remains. In the crypt can still be seen the foundations of the Saxon church and the British well that must have supplied the monks with water. The remains of the Roman wall may also be seen in the close. About the cathedral in Alfred's time clustered the monastic buildings ; and immediately north of it was the New Minster which he planned and built, mainly as a school for the better education of the sons of the nobles. Not far off, doubtless in what is still known as the Abbey Grounds, was a convent for nuns, which Elasmitha united with her husband in founding. William of Wykeham's College, founded in

Winchester four centuries later on, may be viewed as in some sort a continuation of Alfred's New Minster school. Alfred, his queen and his son were all buried in the New Minster. It proved that the New Minster was built too near the cathedral, and when the latter was rebuilt on a larger scale in the twelfth century, the New Minster was taken down and rebuilt outside of the gates, as Hyde Abbey,—and thither the coffins were moved. The abbey was destroyed at the time of the Reformation. In digging among the foundations afterwards, three coffins were discovered buried before what had once been the high altar. Strangely, no effort seems to have been made to preserve or identify them. They were broken up, and the lead was sold for two guineas ; and no one knows today what has become of Alfred's bones. Only a few scattered stones and the wall of a rude barn show what was once Hyde Abbey ; but — thanks also largely to the zealous young mayor — the poor buildings which cover the old abbey grounds are presently to be removed, and Winchester is to have there a worthy public park.

The centre of Alfred's life at Winchester was Wolvesey Castle, close to the cathedral. Often rebuilt and greatly changed, its ruins, the most extensive and impressive in Winchester, still remain on the old site, with the river flowing near them. Within the walls of Wolvesey Alfred held his court and did his great work, planning and carrying out, surrounded by Asser, Grimbold and the other learned men whom he gathered around him, his schemes for the reform and education of his people. Here probably he wrote the Saxon Chronicle, the beginning of the record of English civil history. Here he had the archives kept and a survey of the kingdom made ; here the Latin translations were made and the books written ; and here the artists, artisans, and scholars from all parts of England and the Continent, whom he drew into co-operation with him for the service of the people, found their welcome and their home. Venerable indeed are the ruins of Wolvesey Castle !

It was a great throng of people that gathered in the ancient city in the September days for the millennial observances ; but there were few Americans among them. It would not have been a few had the commemoration been held at midsummer, as was first proposed. There were many representatives of our universities and learned societies then in England, who had been delegated to share in the celebration ; but in September these were, for the most part, already back at their work at home. Charles Francis Adams was there, and Col. Higginson. Gen. Rockwell spoke at the banquet, representing Yale University. Prof. Freeman of the University of Wisconsin was present ; and I saw Miss Ruth Putnam, the accomplished historical writer, and Mr. Lombard, so long the minister of the old Plymouth church. There were doubtless others, but these were all I noted.

But the man who was most sadly missed by all was an American. The principal address at the commemoration was to have been delivered by our own John Fiske. He was on the very point of sailing for England, with this participation in the Alfred commemoration as his chief object, when his untimely death occurred ; and his place on the Guildhall platform was taken by Frederic Harrison. It was not Mr. Fiske's death alone which gave an element of sadness to the week at Winchester. Sir Walter Besant, who had been one of the most earnest promoters of the commemoration, and who would have had a conspicuous place in it, died in London at almost the same time that Mr. Fiske died here. Yet sadder and more shocking, making the week one of deep gloom, especially for Americans, the death of President McKinley occurred at the close of the very week before the commemoration ; and on the very day of the banquet and the dedication of the statue, the memorial services were held in Westminster Abbey, shared in by the American minister and so many more who else would have been with us at Winchester. There was no meeting in that Alfred week at which our dead President and mourning nation were not

remembered — named and remembered, too, in such manner and with such feeling, let me not fail to say, as make the week's anxiety and sorrow almost forgotten in the memory of the deep and universal sympathy with America which found such strong and tender expression through every noble voice at Winchester and in all England.

The commemoration exercises occupied four days, Tuesday to Friday, September 17-20, culminating in the dedication of the statue, the Guildhall banquet and the cathedral service, on the last day. The previous days were largely occupied by visits to the places of chief historical interest in the city—the site of Hyde Abbey, the castle, the old west gate, Wolvesey, the college, the cathedral, *etc.*—under the guidance of those best qualified to interpret them to the visiting company; and in connection with various of these visits there were luncheons, receptions and other courtesies. On one afternoon, in the old castle hall, whose history itself covers so large a part of a millennium, Henry Irving, standing beneath the old Round Table on the wall, which a courageous tradition associates with Arthur, read Tennyson's "Becket" to a great audience which thronged the hall. Another afternoon there was a lecture on the coinage of Alfred's time, by the president of the Numismatic Society. On one day there was a public luncheon, at which Col. Higginson made one of his inimitable speeches, touching with grace and wit upon the relations of English and American cousins, and expressing with delicate feeling the American gratitude for the English sympathy in our national sorrow. On one evening Frederic Harrison delivered in the Guildhall his address on King Alfred. On another evening, in the Guildhall, there was an exhibition of a series of tableaux planned and most skilfully presented by the young people of Winchester, illustrating the various chapters of Alfred's life—the boyhood, the battling, the hiding at Athelney, the episodes of the cakes and of the harp, the work of the scholar, the court of the king—the brightest of the tableaux

being the great hall itself and its gay company, full of brilliant ladies and of scholars and public functionaries in their red robes. Especially interesting to us was Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, the sculptor of the statue which was to be uncovered on the morrow, whom we here met for the first time, having a longer conversation with him afterwards, by his kind invitation, at his studio in Kensington. A striking figure he was, with his thick white hair and fine face; and his conversation revealed how closely and sympathetically he had studied many heroic men in English history besides Alfred the Great. Indeed it was he who sculptured the noble figure of Cromwell which now stands beside Westminster Hall, erected after the commotion in Parliament a few years ago, which will be remembered,—erected, it is said, almost entirely at the cost of Lord Rosebery, who made the speech at the uncovering of the Alfred statue at Winchester.

The dedication of the statue, on Friday, September 20, was the central feature of the commemoration. The day was beautiful, the whole city was gay with its decorations, the sidewalks were thronged with happy people, and the long High street, through which the procession moved from the castle on the hill to the broad place at the foot where the statue stands, was lined with citizen soldiers in their bright uniforms. The procession itself was brilliant and picturesque as no American civic procession is, so many of the academic men wearing their red silken gowns, and the Lord Mayors and other political grandees contributing by their gorgeous hereditary habiliments to an effect imposing indeed. The religious exercises beside the statue were simple. Almost all the time was occupied by Lord Rosebery's impressive address. Eloquent, fine and fitting it was, worthy of the occasion and of the memory of the great king whose services it set forth so sympathetically and sturdily. The character which it pictured was the same character as that symbolized by the heroic bronze figure which rose before

us when the curtain fell — the Christian Saxon king, with his sword held high aloft, its hilt making a cross. The statue meets all of Besant's high demands and definitions. It is a colossal figure, nearly twenty feet high, upon a rough granite base equally high, the whole rising so far above the pavement that, as one comes down the High street toward it, its upper background is the green hill above the low houses.

The banquet in the Guildhall followed almost immediately the dedication exercises. There were, perhaps, four hundred at the tables. There were lords and ladies, mayors and admirals, bishops and canons galore, and a score of scholars whose names are household words alike in London and in Boston. The galleries were filled with men and women who came to look on and to hear the speeches. There was music by the band of the Royal Marine Artillery, beginning with a march by Berlioz and the Tannhäuser overture. The toast list was a long one, beginning with "The King and the Royal Descendants of Alfred," and including such subjects as "Alfred and the Royal Navy," "Alfred and the English Civic and Municipal Life," and "Alfred and the Literature and Learning of the English-speaking Race"—each toast, according to the English usage, proposed as well as responded to in a set speech. The Mayor of Winchester presided, and among the speakers were the Bishop of Winchester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Mayor of London, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Lord Brassey and Lord Avebury. The toast to "The Anglo-Saxon Race" was responded to by our own General Rockwell in a straightforward, dignified and manly speech. The speeches as a whole, it must be said, were singularly destitute of lightness and brightness, Lord Rosebery's alone contributing a bit of humor to the occasion.

From the banqueting hall the company repaired to the cathedral for the special religious service. The great

minster was thronged, and the service was a beautiful and solemn one. The processional hymn was

“O God, our help in ages past”;

and the sermon by the Archbishop of Canterbury immediately followed. Then the national anthem was sung by the great congregation, and the service proceeded. In a special collect there was thankful remembrance of “him whom Thou didst raise up in ages past to be a singular pattern of virtue in our land, ALFRED, the righteous ruler, the valiant defender, the wise instructor of his people, the builder up of a great nation.” The final hymn was

“For all the saints who from their labors rest”;

and after this was sung the Hallelujah Chorus.

It is good for a nation, it is good for a race, to sing Hallelujahs to a character like that of Alfred the Great. “No people, in ancient or modern times,” says Frederic Harrison, “ever had a hero-founder at once so truly historic, so venerable, and so supremely great. . . . Alfred was the only perfect man of action recorded in history; for Aurelius was occasionally too much of the philosopher; Saint Louis usually too much of the saint; Godfrey too much of the crusader; the great emperors were not saints at all; and of all more modern heroes we know too much to pretend that they were perfect. . . . Of all the names in history there is only our English Alfred whose record is without stain and without weakness—who is equally amongst the greatest of men in genius, in magnanimity, in valor, in moral purity, in intellectual force, in practical wisdom and in beauty of soul. In his recorded career from infancy to death, we can find no single trait that is not noble and suggestive, nor a single act or word that can be counted as a flaw.”

Indeed, all students of Alfred seem to be at one in the preëminent praise which they bestow and the preëminent place which they assign him among Englishmen. “Amidst

the deepest gloom of barbarism," wrote Gibbon, "the virtue of Antoninus, the learning and valor of Cæsar, and the legislative genius of Lycurgus shine forth united in that patriot king." Says Mr. Green in his *History of the English People*: "Alfred was the noblest as he was the most complete embodiment of all that is great, all that is lovable, in the English temper. He combined as no other man has ever combined its practical energy, its patient and enduring force, its profound sense of duty, the reserve and self-control that steadies in it a wide outlook and a restless daring, its temperance and fairness, its frank geniality, its sensitiveness to affection, its poetic tenderness, its deep and passionate religion." "The most perfect character in history," is Mr. Freeman's verdict, expressed in an eloquent passage in his *History of the Norman Conquest*; "a saint without superstition, a scholar without ostentation, a warrior all whose wars were fought in the defence of his country, a conqueror whose laurels were never stained by cruelty, a prince never cast down by adversity, never lifted up to insolence in the day of triumph — there is no other name in history to compare with his." He institutes careful comparisons with Saint Louis of France, with Charles the Great, and with the English Edward, all to the advantage of Alfred. "The virtue of Alfred," he says, "like the virtue of Washington, consisted in no marvellous displays of superhuman genius, but in the simple, straightforward discharge of the duty of the moment. But Washington, soldier, statesman and patriot like Alfred, has no claim to Alfred's further characters of saint and scholar. William the Silent, too, has nothing to set against Alfred's literary merits; and in his career, glorious as it is, there is an element of intrigue and chicanery utterly alien to the noble simplicity of both Alfred and Washington." The time would fail to add the accordant words of Thomas Hughes, of Giles, of Pauli, of Wordsworth and so many more. And these superlative tributes are not tributes which have accumulated about some myth-

ical Alfred. The lines of the portrait drawn at the beginning are the same. Florence of Worcester, writing in the century after Alfred's death, speaks of him as "that famous, warlike, victorious king, the zealous protector of widows, scholars, orphans and the poor, skilled in the Saxon poets, affable and liberal to all, endowed with prudence, fortitude, justice and temperance, most patient under the infirmity which he daily suffered, a most stern inquisitor in executing justice, vigilant and devoted in the service of God."

Alfred's various great services are recorded in the books and known to the reader of English history. He was the deliverer of Saxon England from the Danes. The long story of his humiliations and defeats is like the story of Washington's Jersey campaigns; Athelney was like Valley Forge; and the fortitude and patience of Alfred through it all were like the fortitude and patience of Washington. "What follows," to use the words of Besant, "is like a dream; or it is like the uprising of the French under Joan of Arc. There had been nine years of continuous defeat. The people had lost heart; they had apparently given in. Yet on the reappearance of their king they sprang to arms once more; they followed him with one consent, and in the first encounter with the Danes they inflicted upon them a defeat so crushing that they never rallied again. In one battle, on one field, the country was recovered."

Alfred was the founder of the English navy. He was the real founder of London as it was during the middle ages and as it is today. His code of laws stands out preëminent — laws based upon the laws of God and incorporating the Golden Rule. He desired universal education, and worked strenuously for it, — the education of the people, based not on Latin, but on English. "My desire is that all the free-born youths of my people may persevere in learning until they can perfectly read the English Scriptures." He sought to bring his island people into touch with the general civil-

ization of Europe. He was the founder of English literature.

The little volume prepared by the English committee on the millennial and the flood of literature that has followed will do great service in directing attention anew to Alfred's many-sided activity and influence. It were to be wished that more attention might be given, however, to the edition of Alfred's writings which was the fruit of the celebration in 1849 of the millennial of his birth; for it is here, in his own writings, in his work for the culture of his people, that we come into closest touch with him and best perceive the real greatness of his mind.

We have in the two volumes of Alfred's writings the great king's Will, the various Charters which bear his signature, his version of the historian Orosius, his version of the Venerable Bede's "Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation," his version of Boethius's "Consolations of Philosophy," a portion of his version of Gregory's "Pastoral Care," his "Blossom Gatherings" from Saint Augustine, his Laws, and the preface to his version of Gregory's "Dialogues." A few other works have been ascribed to Alfred. Their authenticity is discussed by Professor Earle in his essay upon "King Alfred as a Writer" in the little volume edited by Mr. Bowker.

The work is almost entirely translation. But Alfred was the freest of translators. Sometimes, he tells us himself, he gives us word for word, sometimes meaning for meaning. Sometimes, too, he makes important interpellations, short and long, his author simply serving him as a text or point of departure; and he often omits sections which he thinks will not be of service to his people. At a time when learning was almost dead in England, he looked about for the things which would give his people the most valuable information and the best inspiration; and these things he translated into the language of the people, with the help of the best scholars whom he could summon, and

circulated by the best means which the conditions of the time made possible. We know that a copy of his translation of Gregory's "Pastoral Care" was sent to every bishop in England. On the whole, perhaps he could not have made a better selection for his purpose. A glance at the list will show that he gave to his people something in their own English history, something in general history, something in geography, in philosophy and in religion.

No general history of the world was so well known or so highly esteemed in the time of Alfred as that by Orosius. Indeed it continued to be held in high esteem down to the time of the invention of printing, being one of the first works that was selected for the press. Orosius was a learned Spanish priest, born in the latter part of the fourth century, the friend of Jerome and of Augustine. When Rome was captured and pillaged by Alaric the Goth, in 410, the Romans accused Christianity of being the cause of the affliction and ruin which had befallen the empire. It was to meet this charge that Augustine wrote his "City of God," which is really a philosophy of history, pointing out the increasing providential purpose which runs through the ages and the actual amelioration which had come through Christianity. At Augustine's request and to strengthen the argument, Orosius wrote his compendium of history, in the same spirit, covering human history from the beginnings down to his own time; and this is the work, occupying two hundred pages of one of our volumes, which Alfred translated into Anglo-Saxon.

The first chapter of this history is a general geographical survey of the world. Into this chapter Alfred inserts a description of Europe, all his own, which is one of the most important of his original writings, and perhaps the most important contribution made in his time to geographical science. "So far as his personal knowledge extended," says Sir Clements Markham, president of the Royal Geographical Society, "Alfred was a trained geographer. He

was also in a position to increase the information derived from his own personal experiences by diligently collecting materials from those foreigners who frequented his court, and by reading." His account of the voyages of Ohthere, a Norwegian of his time, around the North Cape, and Wulfstan in the Baltic Sea, and his general description of Europe or, as he calls it, Germania, are of unique value. The chapter containing these accounts has been added to our series of Old South Leaflets. The section of the Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England, translated by Alfred, which gives the account of Augustine's preaching of Christianity in England, is also printed in the same series.

The translation of Bede occupies more than two hundred pages of one of the volumes ; and the translation of Boethius more than a hundred. Boethius lived a century after Orosius ; and his "Consolations of Philosophy" was written in prison, where he had been most unjustly thrown to await execution, after a life of distinction and power. His noble nature offered much with which Alfred found kinship. The translation of his work was clearly a labor of love ; and the many interpellations afford some of the most significant pieces of self-revelation which have come to us from Alfred's pen. The following brief chapter (xvii) is memorable on account of its closing words :

"When Wisdom had sung this lay, he was silent, and the mind then answered and thus said : O Reason, indeed thou knowest that covetousness, and the greatness of this earthly power, never well pleased me, nor did I very much yearn after this earthly authority. But nevertheless, I was desirous of materials for the work which I was commanded to perform ; that was, that I might honourably and fitly guide and exercise the power which was committed to me. Moreover, thou knowest that no man can shew any skill, or exercise or control any power, without tools, and materials. That is of every craft the materials, without which man cannot exercise the craft. This, then, is a king's materials and his tools to reign with ; that he have his land well peopled ; he must have beadmen, and soldiers, and workmen. Thou knowest that without these tools no king can shew his craft. This is also his materials which he must have beside the tools ; provision

for the three classes. This is, then, their provision ; land to inhabit, and gifts, and weapons, and meat, and ale, and clothes, and whatsoever is necessary for the three classes. He cannot without these preserve the tools, nor without the tools accomplish any of those things which he is commanded to perform. Therefore I was desirous of materials wherewith to exercise the power, that my talents and fame should not be forgotten, and concealed. For every craft and every power soon becomes old, and is passed over in silence, if it be without wisdom. Because whatsoever is done through folly, no one can ever reckon for craft. This is now especially to be said ; that I wished to live honourably whilst I lived, and after my life to leave to the men who were after me my memory in good works."

There exists a poetical as well as a prose version of Boethius, the versification clearly having been done after and from the prose. Both versions are ascribed to Alfred, although there is a question about the poetical one. You will be glad to hear one of these poems, closely rendered from the Anglo-Saxon by Mr. Tupper. Thirty of the poems are given in the first of our two volumes. This is upon "True Greatness," and its spirit and purpose almost make us think of Burns.

- " All men and all women on earth
Had first their beginning the same ;
Into this world of their birth
All of one couple they came.
- " Allike are the great and the small ;
No wonder that this should be thus ;
For God is the Father of all,
The lord and the maker of us.
- " He giveth light to the sun,
To the moon and the stars as they stand ;
The soul and the flesh He made one,
When first He made man in the land.
- " Well born alike are all folk
Whom He hath made under the sky ;
Why then on others a yoke
Now will ye be lifting on high?
- " And why be so causelessly proud,
As thus ye find none are illborn?
Or why, for your rank, from the crowd
Raise yourself up in such scorn?

" In the mind of a man, not his make,
In the earth-dweller's heart, not his rank,
Is the nobleness whereof I spake,
The true, and the free, and the frank.

" But he that to sin was in thrall,
Ill-doing wherever he can,
Hath left the first lifespring of all,
His God, and his rank as a man;

" And so the Almighty down-hurl'd
The noble disgraced by his sin,
Thenceforth to be mean in the world,
And never more glory to win."

Of peculiar value is the preface which Alfred wrote to Gregory's "Pastoral Care," when he had copies of his translation of that work sent to all his bishops, to be kept in their minsters for the use of the people. Professor Earle says justly that "among the many precious evidences which time has spared for the perpetuation of a noble memory, the first place must certainly on the whole be accorded to this Preface." It is in the nature of an address to the bishops, recalling the better conditions of learning in England in past times, lamenting the existing decay, and making a noble plea for the education of the people, especially in their own English tongue, by giving them the best literature in good translations.

Much deserves to be said of Alfred's laws. The student will find it profitable to read the code, beginning with the Ten Commandments and gathering together the best laws inherited from early times and new ordinances of the king's own. True English conservatism speaks along with the spirit of progress, in the prologue :

" I, Alfred the king, gathered these laws together and ordered many to be written which our forefathers held, such as I approved, and many which I approved not I rejected, and had other ordinances enacted with the counsel of my Witan; for I dared not venture to set much of my own upon the statute-book, for I knew not what might be approved by those who should come after us. But such ordinances as I found, either in the time of my kinsman Ina, or of Offa, king of the Mercians, or of Ethelberht, who first

received baptism in England — such as seemed to me rightest I have collected here, and the rest I have let drop. I, then, Alfred, king of the West Saxons, showed these laws to all my Witan, and they then said that they all approved of them as proper to be holden.”

We come into first-hand touch with Alfred in the old Saxon Chronicle and in the Life of Alfred by Asser, his friend and bishop, the authenticity of which is now generally conceded. It is in the Saxon Chronicle that we have the beautiful story of the boy Alfred prompted to learning by his mother. Some may like to hear the famous story of the cakes in the words in which Asser tells it :

“At the same time the above-named King Alfred, with a few of his nobles, and certain soldiers and vassals, used to lead an unquiet life among the woodlands of the county of Somerset, in great tribulation ; for he had none of the necessities of life, except what he could forage openly or stealthily, by frequent sallies, from the pagans, or even from the Christians who had submitted to the rule of the pagans ; and as we read in the Life of St. Neot, at the house of one of his cowherds. But it happened on a certain day, that the countrywoman, wife of the cowherd, was preparing some loaves to bake, and the king, sitting at the hearth, made ready his bow and arrows and other warlike instruments. The unlucky woman espying the cakes burning at the fire, ran up to remove them, and rebuking the brave king, exclaimed :

‘Ca’sn thee mind the ke-aks, man, an’ doossen zee ’em burn?’

I’m boun’ thee’s eat ’em vast enough, az zoon az ’t’iz the turn.’¹

The blundering woman little thought that it was King Alfred, who had fought so many battles against the pagans, and gained so many victories over them.”

Perhaps the most careful and thorough of the biographies of Alfred is that by the German Pauli. He says in his preface that it “was written by a German for Germans.” It was conceived when he was living at Oxford in 1848. That was a time when all thoughtful Germans were anxious indeed as to the future of Germany. It seemed to Pauli that what German princes and the German people needed was the spirit of the English Alfred ; and to commend that great soul to their attention he wrote his book.

¹ This is in the Somerset dialect.

Twenty years later, Thomas Hughes wrote the life of Alfred with which most of us, perhaps, have been most familiar. His work, he said, remembering Pauli's word, was the work of "an Englishman for Englishmen." It was at a juncture in European politics which seemed likely to prove as serious as that of 1848 — the eve of the Franco-German war. Events had "forced on those who think on such subjects at all, the practical need of examining once more the principles upon which society and the life of nations rest." The hollowness of imperialism, as exhibited under Louis Napoleon in France, had become obvious to all earnest men. How was democracy to be kept strong and righteous? How is righteousness to be the sovereign power among the nations, "alike those who have visible kings and those who are without them?" With this question and this anxiety, Mr. Hughes addressed himself to the study of the spirit which controlled Alfred the Great a thousand years ago.

Thirty years more passed; and the Alfred millennial found the world at a far more important juncture in its politics than that of 1848 or 1869. It was a critical juncture especially for the Anglo-Saxon race. In both its branches it found itself engaged in wars of conquest and policies of imperialism opposed to the teachings and example of Alfred and of Washington. It was a fatal coincidence, which seems not less than providential, by which at such a time the whole Anglo-Saxon world was called back, on this thousandth anniversary, to sit at the feet of the great Anglo-Saxon man and learn of him. For Alfred belongs to all Anglo-Saxondom alike. "Alfred's name," says Frederic Harrison, writing for England, "is almost the only one in the long roll of our national worthies which awakens no bitter, no jealous thought, which combines the honor of all. . . . Neither Welshman, nor Scot, nor Irishman can feel that Alfred's memory has left the trace of a wound for his national pride. No difference of church arises to separate

any who would join to do Alfred honor." Not only representative of all phases of the life of England, but representative of our race — "call him," as Besant says, "Anglo-Saxon, call him Englishman, call him American." For he is our political ancestor as he is theirs. He belongs to New England, to America, as he belongs to Old England; and for America as for England is the lesson of his life. "Alfred," says Harrison again, "was a victorious warrior whose victories have left no curses behind them." In an age of war and conquest, he never waged a war save a war of defence. Never before had victories and successes such as his failed to beget the lust for territorial aggrandizement and campaigns of aggression. "He is the first instance in the history of Christendom," says Green, "of the Christian king, of a ruler who put aside every personal aim or ambition to devote himself to the welfare of those whom he ruled. So long as he lived he strove 'to live worthily'; but in his mouth a life of worthiness meant a life of justice, temperance, self-sacrifice. The Peace of Wedmore at once marked the temper of the man. . . . He set aside at thirty-one the dream of conquest, to leave behind him the memory not of victories but of 'good works,' of daily toils by which he secured peace, good government, education for his people. His policy was one of peace."

Peace, organization, civility,—peace in England, peace on earth,—the good government, the education and the welfare of the people, the world's order and progress, the constructive way,—that is the lesson of the Alfred millennial for the Anglo-Saxon world.

GOSNOLD AT CUTTYHUNK.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

THREE years ago I was preparing for a lecture on Gosnold, which I delivered before the Lowell Institute. I read again with great interest the four reports which we have in the twenty-eighth volume of the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, of Gosnold's voyage of 1602. I had often read them before.

But on this occasion when I came to the cutting of the sassafras logs by the "gentlemen adventurers," I could not but recall a fifth writer of Elizabeth's time who spoke of the cutting of logs (undoubtedly of sassafras). I took down my "Tempest" and read the stage directions which represent Ferdinand entering Prospero's cave "bearing a log." If you recollect, the conversation which follows has immediate reference to the hardship of this cutting of logs.

Ferdinand . . . I must remove
some thousands of these logs and pile them up.

. . . .

Miranda.

I would the lightning had
Burned up those logs. . . .
If you will sit down
I'll bear your logs the while,
Pray give me that, I'll carry it to the pile.

And in the other group of performers,

Caliban. [Enter Caliban with a burden of wood.]
"Thou mayest brain him . . . with a log."

And again,

"I'll get thee wood enough."

And again,

Here comes a spirit of his, and to torment me
For bringing wood in slowly.

This suggestion of a bit of local color in "The Tempest" set me at once re-reading the four narratives of Cuttyhunk, with reference to Shakespeare's local knowledge of that voyage of Gosnold's. Any person who gave the account of the Gosnold voyage in brief would say that, "here was a small island, heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water where the ship could supply itself." He would describe the arrival of the small vessel in one of those coves from which two parties of men go out, one of whom contracted a jealousy for the other,—the "gentlemen adventurers" and the seamen. What the "Gentlemen Adventurers," who write our accounts, say of the seamen is greatly to their discredit. These parties go to work separately, and the gentlemen cut sassafras *logs* for the return cargo. They are lost out at night in a storm. They are obliged to feed on the products of the island, which prove to be mussels from the streams, pig-nuts dug from the ground and scamels or sea-mews from the rocks. In their description of the island they speak of it as a small island, heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water.

Now, when you turn to Shakespeare, you find that the vessel arrives at one of the coves of an island after the tempest, from which two parties straggle off into the island, which is small and heavily wooded, with little brooks of fresh water. One of these parties is kept out in the woods in a storm of thunder and lightning, and the food of the island appears in what Caliban says to the sailors when he is trying to persuade them to give him more liquor.

"I'll show thee the best springs ; I'll pluck thee berries ;"

" With my long nails I'll dig thee pig-nuts, show thee a jay's nest, and instruct thee how to snare the nimble marmoset. I'll bring thee to clustering filberts ; I'll get thee young sea-mews from the rock."

This parallel was so close that I immediately looked up the relation of Gosnold's voyage to Shakespeare and "The Tempest."

It appears at once that the "Concord," Gosnold's vessel, was sent out by the Earl of Southampton, *Shakespeare's patron*. The Earl of Southampton was responsible for the whole thing. Immediately on their return to England, having quarreled with each other, all parties must have had to proceed to Southampton's house in London and tell their story. Now, observe, that William Shakespeare is on Southampton's staff at that moment, probably living with him, and that he is contemplating already, probably, writing "The Tempest." I think the critics now all unite in saying that the date of the production of "The Tempest" is 1603. This corresponds exactly with the time of Gosnold's return. In Southampton's house, Shakespeare must have met the drunken sailors on one side, and the "gentlemen adventurers" on the other. He heard there, possibly for the first time, of mussels from the rocks, of pig-nuts, of scamels from the rocks, whatever they were, and the rest of the bill of fare of the island. From the narrative he learned "how lush and lusty the grass looks, how green." "Meadows very large and full of green grass," is Brereton's phrase. And a trace of the unfortunate quarrel between the "gentlemen adventurers" and the seamen runs all through the play. One doesn't wonder, indeed, that "gentlemen adventurers" who camped out for the first time in the Cuttyhunk woods, were able to supply Shakespeare with some suggestions as to Calibans with long nails, as to devils and as to Ariels.

In brief, I think there can be no doubt that the local coloring of "The Tempest" is in part derived from the narrative of Gosnold's adventures. This conviction gave me courage to say, before an audience of the Lowell Lectures, that we have a right to claim Miranda as a Massachusetts girl.

Here are six or eight of the most obvious of the parallels between the accounts of Gosnold, Archer and Brereton,

on the one side, and Mr. William Shakespeare, Caliban, Prospero and Ferdinand on the other.

Brereton's bill of fare.

. . . "Fowls which breed . . . on low trees about this lake, whose young ones . . . we ate at our pleasure."

"Also great store of ground nuts, forty on a string,—which nuts we found as good as potatoes. Also divers sort of shell-fish as mussels . . . etc."

Brereton's scenery.

"Lakes of fresh water . . . meadows very large and full of green grass."

Shakespeare.

"How lush and lusty the grass looks — how green."

Shakespeare speaks of a *marmoset*, never in any other play. Did one of Southampton's seamen bring home a flying squirrel?

Gosnold's bill of fare.

"Stearnes, geese and divers other birds which did breed upon the cliffs, being sandy with some stones, —and had young."

Caliban's: "I'll get thee young sea-mews (scamels) from the rock."

Gosnold's: herbs and roots and *ground nuts*
. . . . mussel-shells . . . ground nuts again.

Prospero to Caliban: "Thy food shall be the fresh-brook mussels,—roots and herbs."

Gosnold's party — "Driven to lie all night in the woods — weather somewhat rainy—" "Solaced ourselves with Alexander,—*ground nuts* and tobacco."

Tempest, stage direction. "A noise of thunder is heard."
"The storm is come again."

Gosnold's island: "full of oaks . . . hazle-nut trees, . fowls on low trees whose young ones we took and ate at pleasure,—great store of ground nuts."

Caliban as above—"sea mews from the cliffs" and "dig thee pig-nuts with my long nails. I will bring thee where crabs grow"—not crab-apples, as the critics supposed, but shell fish, as we learn from Gosnold's voyage: "lobsters, *crabs* and mussels."

From Archer's List.

"Strawberries, red and white raspberries, gooseberries, whortleberries."

Caliban. "I'll show thee best springs. I'll pluck thee berries. I'll fish for thee, and get thee wood enough."

It is to be observed also, that the only trees mentioned in "The Tempest" are oak, pine and cedar.

In closing this paper I may say personally that my own convictions that Shakespeare worked from close conversation with the people from the Concord, is confirmed by the observation that "The Tempest" does not contain one tropical allusion. Here was Shakespeare who must have met Hawkins and Drake and many adventurers, from the Gulf of Mexico and tropical seas. He is describing an island which is in communication with the vexed Bermoothes. Yet there is no allusion to an orange, a banana, a yam or a potato, a feather cloak or a palm tree, or a pineapple, or a monkey, or a parrot, or anything else which refers to the Gulf of Mexico, or to the tropics. Does not this seem as if he meant that the local color of "The Tempest" should be that which was suggested by the gentlemen adventurers and the seamen who were talking of Cuttyhunk, its climate and its productions, as they told travellers' stories up and down in London.

BREWSTER AUTOGRAPH IN WISCONSIN.

BY JAMES D. BUTLER.

INTEREST in autographs is of decidedly modern growth. The word autograph in the sense of signature has been detected in English by the multitudinous readers for the Oxford dictionary in no author earlier than the elder Disraeli. Thus the specific use of the vocable began less than a decade before the year 1800. When regard for the Pilgrims took an autographic turn, the signature of William Brewster was at once brought to light on a deed in the record office at Plymouth. There was, however, unexpected difficulty in unearthing a duplicate, so that after much search and research the writing in the Old Colony archives came to be considered the unique autograph of Elder William Brewster, whose house was the first cradle of the first church of the Pilgrims.—(Bradford, p. 490.)

Notwithstanding, about 1857 some one in Yale college library opening Cartwright's *Harmonia Evangelica*, which had long slept soundly there in its own sheets, read on the title-page *Willm Brewster*, and on the left of the name the phrase, *Hebel est omnis Adam*, which, though Mr. Winsor did not know it, is found word for word in the fifth verse of the 39th Psalm. The phrase is considered by Gesenius an independent clause and translated "A breath is every man." More literally, "All man all breath."

A third autograph with the same motto was soon afterward exhumed at the Boston Athenæum in a Greek folio of Chrysostom, Basle, 1522. This book is further inscribed "Ex bibliotheca avi mei," July, 1644. Thomas Prince [who was a son of Brewster's daughter]. A fourth autograph

next rewarded Rev. Dr. Henry M. Dexter, who ferreted out *Will'm Brewster*, but not the Latinized motto, in a "Treatise on the minestery (*sic*) of the Church of England, 1595. [No mention of place] by Francis Johnson, pastor of the English church in Amsterdam." This book seems to have been bought before the Elder had adopted his book motto.

This quartet was supposed by Winsor to include all autographs extant; indeed he failed to specify the Dexter specimen in his *Narrative and Critical History* (Vol. iii, p. 287), published in the middle of the eighties. Yet two more Brewster signs manual were in reserve for him. One autograph with motto had been long lurking close by him in a neighbor's house at Cambridge. The name and motto gave him a glad surprise in 1887. They were written in the commentary of "Pareus In Genesin Mosis," Frankfurt, 1615. The other it was his fortune to read, both name and motto, on a folio translation of "Seneca's Morals, by Thomas Lodge, London, 1614," owned by Mr. McClellan in Woodstock, Conn.

These six were the only Brewster autographs described by Mr. Winsor in his monograph of 1887 in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* (Second Series, vol. iii., pp. 261-274). So far as can be ascertained they formed the total of discovery, after a century of search, until a seventh appeared in April, 1902, some fifteen years after the last windfall.

Miss Elizabeth Goffe Ticknor, now a student in the University of Wisconsin, then brought to her professor of history, Frederick J. Turner, an old book which had long been an heirloom in her home, which is with her mother and grandmother in Madison. Her volume is a relic of the self-same Francis Johnson, who wrote the work which, as before stated, was the delight of Dr. Dexter's old age, as found by himself with the fourth-found Brewster autograph—and the first one that had not been entombed in a public institution.

This Wisconsin treasure-trove shows on its title-page *Will'm Brewster*—and *Hebel est omnis Adam*, with not one letter in either of them obscured. The book itself, however, with no covers, the last four leaves in tatters, and all pages after 320 wanting altogether, recalls Shakespeare's unregarded age in corners thrown.

The gist of the title-page, where the words are two hundred and twenty, is as follows: "A Christian Plea," in capitals. By way of sub-title its three Treatises are: 1. "Touching Anabaptists," etc., pp. 1-210; 2. "Touching Arminians," etc., pp. 210-244; 3. "Touching the Reformed church with whom myself agree," etc., pp. 244-320.

"Made by Francis Johnson, Pastour of the ancient English church, now sojourning at Amsterdam in the Low Countries." The next line shows six golden words which glorify the whole volume—"Hebel est omnis Adam Will'm Brewster.¹ Printed In the yeere of our Lord 1617." No indication of place.

Here was the first discovery of the desiderated name in a second book by any single author.

A copy of this work stands in the British Museum marked in the catalogue *Brownist*, 696, b23, 1. His earliest publication is dated as 1600 in Allibone, but his book in Dr. Dexter's library bears the date 1595. He was in Middleburg 1593-99.

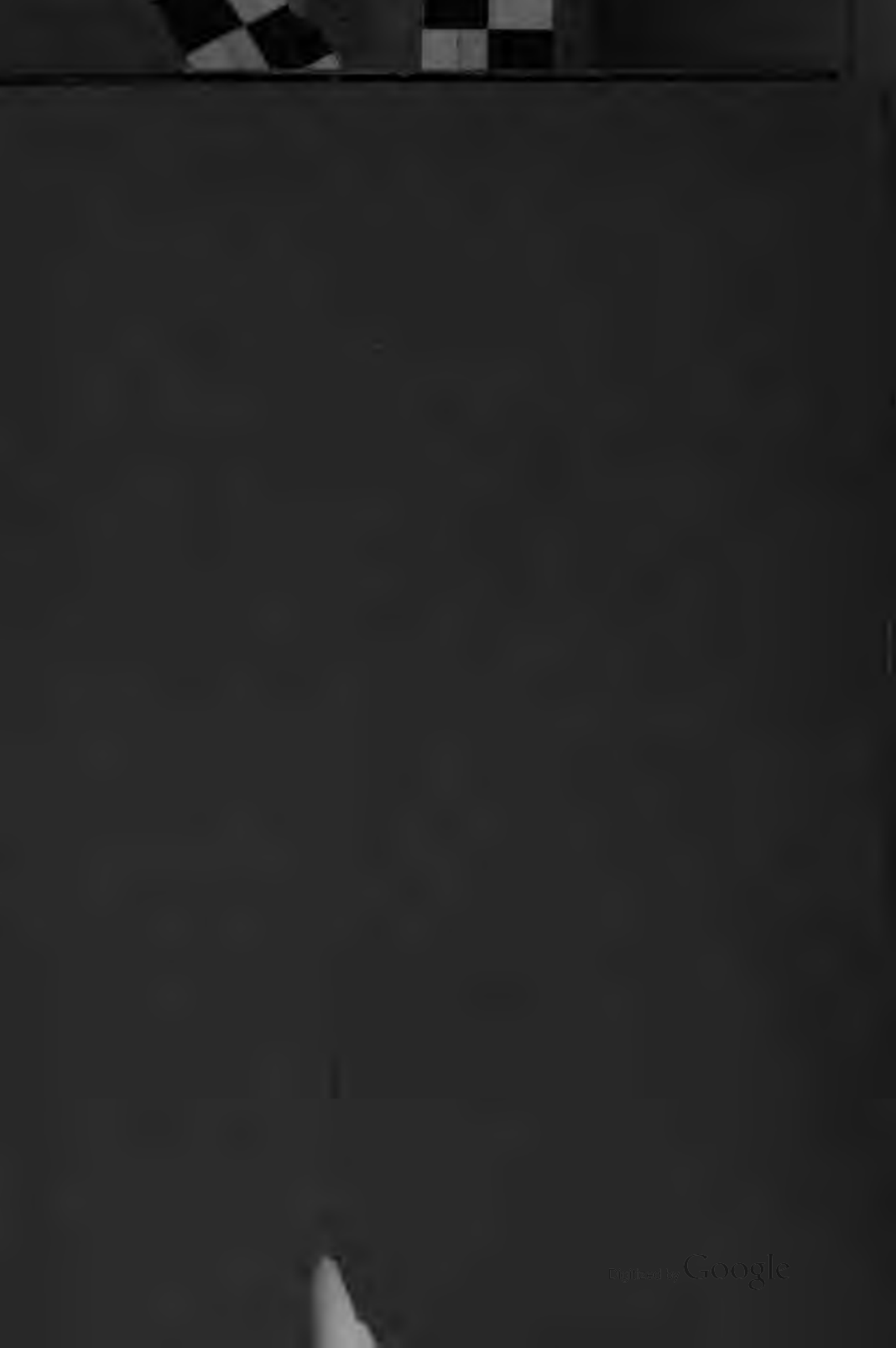
The chain of title to several of the Brewster volumes with his autograph is quite complete. No such evidence of either genuineness or authenticity is needed in respect to the present seventh autograph. Nor can it be furnished. Still the antecedents of the new-found rarity, so far as known, deserve record.

Mrs. Olive Ticknor, residing in Madison, was the legal

¹ Facsimile of autograph.

Will'm Brewster.

owner of the volume containing the seventh autograph until April 15, 1902, when she allowed it to be stamped "State Historical Society of Wisconsin. No. 117,590." Born in 1819, her maiden name was Olive Kendall. Her father, Thomas Kendall (born 1786, died 1831), was son of Rev. Thomas Kendall, who was born in 1745 in Hopkinton, Mass., died 1836 (Daniels' Oxford, p. 564). Mrs. Ticknor, who was seventeen years old at her grandfather's death, and living in the same house with him, believes the volume to have been then long in his possession. Further genealogical research may shed light on the steps of its transmission after many a halt and hazard to a permanent home where dangers of loss or perishing are reduced to a minimum. Three of the six autographs before known—those at Yale, Plymouth, and the Boston Athenæum, may be equally secure—but the other three so long as they remain in private hands cannot be. Four of the six were found in Massachusetts, two in Connecticut. It will forever be a joy to Wisconsin that in her capital was found the first Brewster autograph outside of New England. May it abide the *κέρμα ἐς αἰ* which was the heart's desire of Thucydides!



PROCEEDINGS

American Antiquarian Society.

— ANNUAL MEETING HELD IN BOSTON, —

October 29, 1861.

THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, INCORPORATED IN 1820.

CHURCH STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

1861.

JOHN JAYNE, TREASURER.



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CONTENTS.

| | |
|--|------|
| PROCEEDINGS AT THE MEETING | Page |
| REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1880 | 107 |
| THREE COMMUNEWALTERS: MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, BOSTON (BARRY) JOHN KALEY (BOSTON) WILLIAM H. BOSTON | 130 |
| REPORT OF THE TREASURER | 165 |
| REPORT OF THE SECRETARY | 175 |
| REPORT OF THE BOARD | 185 |
| A NEW STATE OF THE STATE (BOSTON) JOHN NOLAN | 205 |
| THE UNIVERSITY OF BOSTON (BOSTON) WILLIAM F. BOSTON | 225 |
| THE UNIVERSITY OF BOSTON (BOSTON) WILLIAM F. BOSTON | 225 |
| SMALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL | 235 |
| SMALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL | 245 |

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1902, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE meeting was called to order at 10:30 A. M., by the
President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The records of the previous meeting were approved.

The report of the Council was prepared by WILLIAM B. WEEDEN, A. M., and the Recording Secretary. In connection with the report, Mr. WEEDEN read a paper on "Three Commonwealths:—Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island, and their early development."

The report of the Treasurer was read by NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M.

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

Vice-President GEORGE F. HOAR moved that the report of the Council, with the reports accompanying it, be submitted to the Committee of Publication, and such parts of it published as they think best.

Senator HOAR said: "And in making this motion I wish to express my great satisfaction in listening to Mr. Weeden's paper. It is inspired by that attachment to his own State and dwelling-place which is the inspiration and soul of all patriotism and all public spirit and all good citizenship. This paper gives the theory of the founders of the three New England States mentioned, Massachusetts,

Rhode Island and Connecticut, and shows what they deemed the true principles of civil liberty in their application to the question, who shall take part in the government of the State? Perhaps Mr. Weeden on reflection will be willing to pardon a little the effect of a like attachment to their own birthplace and State in the Massachusetts historians, and especially like that noblest of all our examples of civic virtue, Josiah Quincy, in speaking of their own history. Massachusetts people were not perfect in their conception of the doctrines of civil liberty, though for civil liberty as they conceived it, they were willing to encounter exile and privation and death. I do not think Roger Williams, though he be entitled to all admiration and our pride as one of our great lights, so very far ahead of us in his conception of these principles. If I understand it, Roger Williams and his companions admitted to a share in the government of the State only professing Christians and only heads of families. So his conception of a perfect State, in advance as it was of ours, would have excluded Confucius, would have excluded Socrates, would have excluded Plato and Marcus Aurelius, and would have excluded a majority of the human race, including all the Hebrew patriarchs, law-givers and prophets, and inspired oracles of religious faith before Christ. Also, if I understand it, he admitted nobody but heads of families to take part in the government of his State, which would have excluded all bachelors, including three members of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, one of whom is the President."

The motion of Mr. HOAR was carried.

Mr. WILLIAM E. FOSTER and Mr. EDWARD H. GILBERT, appointed to collect ballots for President, reported thirty-seven ballots cast, all for Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The President appointed Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN of Boston, Dr. JOHN GREEN of St. Louis, and Hon. HENRY

S. NOURSE a committee to report a list of the other officers of the Society. The following were nominated and duly elected:—

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

Council:

Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, LL.D., of Boston.

Rev. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, B.A., of Worcester.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence,
Rhode Island.

Hon. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Hon. JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M., of Portland,
Maine.

Hon. HENRY STEDMAN NOURSE, A.M., of Lancaster.

Secretary of Foreign Correspondence:

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven,
Connecticut.

Secretary of Domestic Correspondence:

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., of Lincoln.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES CARD SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

AUGUSTUS GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B., of Worcester.

Finance Committee:

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

HON. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Library Committee:

HON. STEPHEN SALISBURY, A.M., of Worcester.

NATHANIEL PAINE, A.M., of Worcester.

Librarian:

EDMUND MILLS BARTON, of Worcester.

The Recording Secretary, in behalf of the Council, proposed the names of the following gentlemen for election

For Roger Bigelow Merriam

read Roger Bigelow Merriman.

ALBERT SAMUEL GATSCHE, Ph.D., of Washington, D. C.

The above-named gentlemen were duly elected on separate ballots.

The Rev. CALVIN STEBBINS, referring to Mr. Weedon's paper, made a few remarks, saying: I have recently been studying the development of democratic ideas in the

Puritan Army under Cromwell, and the paper just read has suggested the question whether there was any connection between Thomas Hooker and the leaders of the "New Model." It has been shown that the Puritan warriors began by organizing the regiment into a Church, and that they had the reputation of being greatly given to attending conventicles. But as time went on they turned the prayer meeting into a political meeting and began to discuss questions in politics. While the Presbyterians in Parliament were anxious to reduce the power of the King and make Parliament supreme, the soldiers wished to curtail the power of Parliament as well as that of the King. In 1647, the soldiers after long discussion published a document called "The Declaration of the Army." "In this," says Prof. Gardiner, "for the first time, the modern political doctrine, that the people themselves are the sources of power and that there is no appeal from their decision when expressed through Parliaments recently chosen, was publicly set forth in England." After about two months' discussion the subject was again brought forward in a clearer statement.

Dr. HALE: "What is the date of this?"

Rev. Mr. STEBBINS: The later document was completed on the 27th of July, 1647, and published on the 1st of August. It was called "Heads of Proposals." This document is remarkable on account of what it suggests. It did not state whether there should be a State church or not, or if there was one whether it should be Presbyterian or Episcopal, but it left the whole subject open to be decided by a Parliament to be elected; but it asked for the abolition of all powers of Bishops and Ecclesiastics in criminal cases, that the Book of Common Prayer should not be obligatory, that the taking of the Covenant should be optional, that every man should be protected in whatever form of worship he chose, that the electoral system

be reorganized so that members of Parliament might in reality represent the people, and that biennial Parliaments be held from this time forth and forever. It seems to me, that the development of democratic ideas in America under the lead of Hooker and among the Independents in the "New Model" under Henry Ireton at the same period was very remarkable. Hooker seems to have preached the doctrine before the soldiers began to formulate their ideas, but the soldiers published their "Heads of Proposals" before Hooker's sermon was given to the world.

Mr. JOHN NOBLE, of Boston, read a paper on the Shays Rebellion,—or the side of it as seen in the Courts.

In connection with Mr. Noble's paper, the Recording Secretary, Mr. CHASE, remarked: "The paper just presented has a local as well as national interest. It was only a few feet from where we are now that almost the climax of the rebellion took place. The events here are quite fully described in the "History of Worcester," by William Lincoln. A special grievance of the insurgents was against the courts; one plank in their platform was the abolition of the courts, and the substitution of some simpler mode of dispensing and obtaining justice. The Criminal Court was to be held in Worcester in November, 1786.

The jurisdiction of the session, says Lincoln, was principally over criminal offences, and its powers were exercised for the preservation of social order. No opposition had been anticipated to its session on the 21st of November, and no defensive preparations were made. On that day about sixty armed men under Abraham Gale of Princeton entered the north part of the town. During the evening and on Wednesday morning about one hundred more arrived from Hubbardston, Shrewsbury and some adjacent towns. A committee presented a petition to the court at the United States Arms Tavern, for their adjournment until a new choice of representatives, which was not

received. The insurgents then took possession of the ground around the Court House. When the Justices approached, the armed men made way and they passed through the opening ranks to the steps. There, triple rows of bayonets presented to their breasts, opposed farther advance. The Sheriff, Col. William Greenleaf of Lancaster, addressed the assembled crowd, stating the danger to themselves and the public from their lawless measures. Reasoning and warning were ineffectual, and the proclamation in the riot act was read for their dispersion. Amid the grave solemnity of the scene some incidents were interposed of lighter character. Col. Greenleaf remarked with great severity on the conduct of the armed party around him. One of the leaders replied, they sought relief from grievances: that among the most intolerable of them was the Sheriff himself: and next to his person were his fees, which were exorbitant and excessive, particularly on criminal executions. "If you consider fees for executions oppressive," replied the Sheriff, irritated by the attack, "you need not wait long for redress, for I will hang you all, Gentlemen, for nothing with the greatest pleasure." Some hand among the crowd which pressed close, placed a pine branch on his hat, and the county officer retired, with the Justices, decorated with the evergreen badge of rebellion. The clerk entered on his records that the court was prevented from being held by an armed force, the only notice contained on their pages that our soil has ever been dishonored by resistance of the laws.

Mr. CHASE continued his remarks, saying:

"But there is one matter connected with this subject which I wish would be settled by Mr. Noble, and by the Society, and that is the authority of the spelling of the hero of this rebellion. I am satisfied that it has always been given entirely wrong, and that his real name was "Shea." It is not given so anywhere. Mr. Lincoln writes it "Shays," the most common way.¹

¹ The Secretary is in receipt of the following letter. It settles the question of how the man spelled his name, but perhaps it establishes the fact that he spelled it wrong:

Worcester, 27 Oct., 1902.

DEAR SIR:—*Apr*opos of the question which you raised at the Antiquarian meeting in regard to the spelling of the leader's name in the rebellion in Massachusetts

Dr. HALE. I received some years ago a circular asking us to contribute for the erection of a monument to Daniel Shays in Western New York, where he died.

Dr. S. A. GREEN. I got such a circular, and I think within a very few months I saw something in the paper that steps had been taken toward the erection of a monument of some kind.

At the close of Mr. Noble's paper, Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS said: I do not propose to take up any unnecessary amount of the time of this meeting. I do, however, want to say a few words in order to secure an opportunity, when the very valuable paper which has just been read is printed, to therein insert what I would say now had I time for preparation. Not only is Mr. Noble's paper interesting, but, historically, I regard it as one of the most important I have ever heard read at the meetings of this Society. It presents a view never before taken to my knowledge of an important episode in our annals,—indeed, an episode second in importance to none; for I believe it is generally conceded that Shays's "Rebellion," so-called, was one of the chief impelling and contributory causes to the framing and adoption of the constitution of 1788. A rude shock, it awakened the whole thirteen States to a realizing sense of the anarchical abyss on the edge of which they were then lingering. In its sequence, it thus revealed a racial difference of far-reaching importance. A similar danger subsequently confronted the several American communities of the Latin race at the regulation point in development. One and all, they plunged into it; they were not equal to the emergency. The Anglo-American community, on the contrary, recoiled

in 1786,—in looking up an entirely different matter, the other day, I had occasion to consult Parmenter's History of Pelham, and was surprised to find there a two-chapter sketch of that man, including several letters by him; one of these letters (p. 383) is given in *facsimile*, and the signature, in excellent chirography, is "Daniel Shays."

Yours very truly,

GEORGE H. HAYNES.

from the abyss, proceeding at once to form a stronger government, as well as "a more perfect union."

In my belief poor old Shays, and his somewhat ragged, helter-skelter and tatterdemalion following have, at the hands of our so-called historians, received rather harsh and inconsiderate treatment. They have been pronounced guilty, unreservedly; my own belief is that, though guilty, there were decidedly extenuating circumstances underlying their action and connected with their case. Undoubtedly law-breakers, they broke the law only under circumstances of almost intolerable hardship, not to say oppression.

My attention was first drawn to Shays's "Rebellion" now some years back. I am glad the subject has passed into the hands of Mr. Noble. I then tried to induce a young student of history, writing one of these theses for his doctorate of philosophy at Harvard College, to go if he could into the underlying causes of the "Rebellion." He had undertaken to write a history of it. He described in the usual way, the Governor's proclamation; how, when, and where the militia mustered; where they marched and in what sort of weather, and what finally took place when they got there, *etc.*, *etc.* I advised him to get in behind all that superficial narrative, to go to the records of the Courts of that day in which writs were filed, to rummage the legal processes, and from them ascertain what the cause of trouble was. The misdirected effort of those engaged in the uprising was to put a stop to the sessions of the Courts of Law, especially in the agricultural counties of the State. They wanted to hinder the rendering of any more judgments, and the issue of executions thereon. Why was this? Those who followed Shays were Massachusetts yeomen,—law-abiding, New England farmers and land-owners. Those men did not without some cause rise in a tumultuous body, and try to suppress the Courts of Justice. Something surely, could we but find it out, was to be

urged in their behalf. That something, I believe, is shadowed forth in Mr. Noble's paper. My young friend of the Ph.D. thesis certainly felt no call, so far as I ever knew or heard, to follow up the trail I indicated to him.

What was the material and economical situation in the States of the Confederation in 1786? I take it to have been somewhat as follows: The thirteen Provinces had emerged from a war of nearly eight years' duration, and they had emerged under conditions of extreme financial and economical distress. There was no commerce; no medium of exchange; no active markets. The old Continental money had depreciated, and so gone out of sight that not to be worth a "continental" was a synonym for no value; it is so still. Here then were the farmers; they lived on the land, getting up early and toiling long hours; industrious and thrifty, they had their farm buildings and implements, and their cattle; for one reason and another, largely because of heavy taxation, they owed money,—for, in those days, taxation was very onerous. They were in debt. They could not well help being so; for the community was then reduced to a system of barter. Ordinary purchase and sale had ceased; for there were many sellers and few buyers. Meanwhile, the laws of Massachusetts as respects the collection of debt were, at the time in question, such as would not now be tolerated in any civilized community. Bancroft, in his "History of the Formation of the Federal Constitution," stigmatizes them as "barbarous." Speaking from memory only, I cannot quote his exact words. Debt was, however, then a crime; and imprisonment at the will of the creditor was the penalty for it no matter what the circumstances might be.¹

¹ "Meantime, the sufferings of the debtors in Massachusetts, especially in its central and western counties, embittered by the devices of attorneys to increase their own emoluments, and aggrieved by the barbarous laws of that day which doomed the debtor, however innocent, to imprisonment at the caprice of his creditor, had driven them to interrupt the courts in Worcester. In the three western

The early New Englanders were, moreover, inclined to be litigious. The bar, as a profession, was in 1786, and thereabouts, not thoroughly organized; its tone was distinctly low. During the revolutionary period and immediately subsequent thereto a crop of attorneys, self-taught, and of low antecedents, had developed, country pettifoggers who would now be known as "shyster" lawyers. These men were nothing more nor less than cormorants and blood-suckers; they drew their sustenance from merciless exactions from a suffering community. I cannot myself produce any examples of bills of costs of court such as were run up in those days. Doubtless Mr. Noble could, if he has not already done so. There are, however, in the diary of my grandfather, John Quincy Adams, kept just after the close of his college course, in 1787, and while he was a student in the office of Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport, some curious passages bearing on the public regard in which the legal profession was then held. At the Spring Exhibition before his Commencement, he was assigned a part in a joint conference with two other members of the class, he speaking on behalf of the Law, they on behalf of Physic and Divinity. These extracts will probably be published at an early day in the *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, to which I propose to communicate the diary in question.¹

In this connection, the extracts from the diary have a

counties measures were taken to close the courts; and once, for a moment, the national armory at Springfield was menaced. The movement assumed the aspect of an insurrection, almost of a rebellion, which received support even from husbandmen otherwise firm supporters of the law."—Bancroft, *History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States of America*, vol. I., p. 274.

¹ See *Proceedings* of Massachusetts Historical Society for November, 1902. The following is the essential passage in the Exhibition part in question:—"At a time when the profession of the law labours under the heavy weight of popular indignation; when it is upbraided as the original cause of all the evils with which the Commonwealth is distressed; when the legislature have been publicly exhorted by a popular writer to abolish it entirely, and when the mere title of Lawyer is sufficient to deprive a man of the public confidence, it should seem this profession would afford but a poor subject for panegyric; but its real utility is not to be determined by the short-lived frenzy of an inconsiderate multitude, nor by the artful misrepresentations of an invidious writer."

veritable historic interest. Another curious indication of the popular odium which attached to the legal profession at the time of Shays's movement I came across some years ago while serving on a committee to edit the records of the old town of Braintree. J. Q. Adams was at that time a resident of Braintree, the original township not having as yet been divided. At a town meeting held in the Autumn of 1786, immediately preceding the "Rebellion," those who sympathized in that movement evidently had control. A letter of instructions to the town's representative in the General Court was then prepared, and those instructions breathed the full spirit of the subsequent disturbance. I have not the volume here, but, among other things, the representative was instructed to promote, so far as he could, such legislation as would either put a stop to the profession of the law, or, at any rate, subject it to severe restrictions; and also another measure which would provide that land and property should be made a tender in payment of debt.

Even then, however, the demand set forth indicated a fairly moderate spirit, inasmuch as land, *etc.*, was not to be a legal tender unless there had been a default in the payment of interest. Some kind of stay law was demanded.¹

My investigation, so far as I have been able to make one, has been, I confess, merely incidental; but, such as it was, it has led me to believe that there would now be an insurrection in Massachusetts within three months were

¹ The letter of instructions referred to was addressed to Col. Ebenezer Thayer, then the representative of Braintree. It was in several respects characteristic of the time and of the agitators then in control. In its preamble it referred to the "numerous Grievances or intolerable Burthens by some means or other lying on the Good Subjects of this republic." Then, proceeding to an enumeration of grievances, it contained, among other specifications, the following:

"6thly, We humbly request that there may be such Laws compiled as may crush or at least put a proper check or restraint on that order of Gentlemen denominated Lawyers the completion of whos modern conduct appears to us to tend rather to the distraction than the preservation of this Commonwealth."

"8thly, That Real and Personal Estate be a tender for all debts when call'd for provided the Interest be punctually paid."—*Records of the Town of Braintree*, p. 568.

the conditions and laws the same as those existing and in force in 1786. The pettifogging lawyers I have referred to made a business of pressing claims against farmers, and those of the poorer class. They sued them for taxes, or for any debts they had incurred; and then began a process of piling up legal costs. Mr. Noble can, as I have said, undoubtedly give examples from the Court records under his charge. Finally, the parties sued being unable to defend themselves, or having no defence to make, judgment was rendered, and, in due time, execution issued. The executions were then levied mercilessly; there was no homestead, or other exemption law, and whatever property a debtor had was seized and put up for sale at public vendue. There were no buyers at such sales, except the holders of the executions. Accordingly, well-meaning, law-abiding men saw themselves utterly without protection and with no recourse. They were ruined; sold out; rendered not only houseless and homeless, but prisoners for debt. Whatever they had was gone at nominal prices; and, deprived of their liberty as well as their means of livelihood, they saw their all sacrificed. To bear such conditions uncomplainingly would have required a very patient race of men; and the men of Massachusetts of that time were not an uncomplaining race, nor were they conspicuous for meekness.

The subject is one worthy of a careful monograph. A few years ago only,—in the Spring of 1894,—we here in the United States that now is, under a condition of affairs not nearly so intolerable as that existing in 1786, witnessed the "Debs" business, and the labor agitation and movements of that period. The Shays "Rebellion" I take to have been merely a more aggravated instance of the same sort of thing. But, unlike the Debs fiasco, the Shays "Rebellion," as I have already said, was an important historical fact, and, as such, it deserves to be adequately treated.

I have referred to J. Q. Adams's early diary; but he never forgot the impression made upon him by those early events; and, fifty years later, speaking of the Federal Constitution, he used the striking expression that it was "extorted from the grinding necessity of a reluctant nation." Shays's "Rebellion" was the extorting agency. I have, therefore, listened to the paper of Mr. Noble, or that portion of it which he read after I came into the room, with especial interest. I have already urged my friend, Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, who is singularly well qualified for such a work, to prepare an historical monograph on Shays's "Rebellion." For such a study he has been peculiarly prepared by his previous investigations of Massachusetts Currency. If he would undertake it in connection with Mr. Noble, making use of the material which Mr. Noble has unearthed in the Clerk's office of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, the result could hardly fail to be a production of a high order, and of permanent historical value.

Meanwhile, until such a monograph appears, Shays and his dragged, shivering rabble will continue to be regarded, as they hitherto have been regarded, as a parcel of lawless insurrectionists, endeavoring without any adequate moving cause to overturn a beneficent government. The historical fact is that the conditions then prevailing were almost unendurable, the laws "barbarous," and the people had shown themselves long-suffering. In the outcome, Shays's insurrection proved a most illuminating reminder and healthy stimulant.

Mr. CHASE: "Mr. Lincoln, giving a biographical sketch of Col. Timothy Bigelow, who was from Worcester, and one of the first to move to the Battle of Lexington with his company, classes him with the vast mass of sufferers from the distressful times. Col. Bigelow, after the war in which he took an active and conspicuous part

as colonel of the 15th Massachusetts Regiment, spent a large part of his declining years in the County jail in Worcester, because he was unable to meet the debts incurred in support of his family during his absence in the field. That was the fate of the colonel of the old 15th Massachusetts Regiment. To the colonel of the 15th Massachusetts Regiment in the War of 1861¹ the people of Worcester County are about erecting an equestrian statue in front of the Court House, near at hand. It is a striking contrast of the times."

Mr. HOAR: "Colonel Bigelow was within the jail 'limits.' There was a distinction. The debtor who could give bonds that he would not go without certain limits, was permitted to dwell outside, and Mr. Bigelow had some place of business at Lincoln Square outside of the actual jail. The jail limits extended for half a mile or a mile from the jail."

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN said:—

I wish to give to the library of the Society a copy of a work entitled:—"The Life of Washington, in the form of an Autobiography" (Boston, 1840), in two volumes, by the Rev. Charles W. Upham, a former member. The publication of this work gave rise to some litigation, as it was considered an infringement of the copyright, held by Mr. Sparks, of his "Writings of George Washington," published a short time previously; and the author and publishers were restrained by injunction from making it public. The stereotype plates, however, had been cast,—a few impressions struck off without the knowledge of Mr. Upham,—and afterward sent to England, where an edition of the work was published. Once I showed this copy to him, and on seeing it he expressed great astonishment, as he was then unaware that any copies had ever

¹ Gen. Charles Devens.

been printed here; and at my request he duly recorded the fact on a fly-leaf in one of the volumes, as follows:—

This work was compiled by me. It was never published by my knowledge, in this country. It was published in England, I know not by whom. I never saw a copy of it, until I procured one by importation from England.

July 22^d. 1869.

CHARLES W. UPHAM.

At the annual meeting of the Society, held on October 21, 1875, it fell to my lot to write the Council's Report, in which appeared a sketch of Mr. Upham, who at that time had recently died; and I then mentioned some of the circumstances here related.

Dr. HALE inquired as to whether any information could be given as to the whereabouts of the missing volume of Washington's diary.

A letter written in 1827, dealing with medical education at that time, was read by Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN, of Worcester. In connection with the reading of the letter, Mr. GREEN remarked: "The manuscript which I hold in my hand is a copy of a letter written by a gentleman connected with the Medical School of Harvard University to Issacher Cozzens, Jr., of New York, in 1827. Mr. Cozzens was the librarian of the Lyceum of Natural History in New York, and was the author of a volume which many of you know of,—'A Geological History of Manhattan or New York Island.' The volume is of especial value now as it is very hard to study the geology of a city which, like New York, is covered with buildings. Mr. Cozzens had a great many acquaintances among men of science. He was an intimate friend of Audubon. The anecdote is told that Audubon requested the privilege of painting his portrait as a surprise to his wife, and then asked Mrs. Cozzens to have her portrait painted as a surprise to her husband. In the latter part of his life Mr. Cozzens spent a great deal of his time at the well-known hotel of his brother near West

Point. You will remember that Gen. Scott spent his summers at that hotel. There and elsewhere Mr. Cozzens became acquainted with a great many people who were studying in fields different from those trodden by himself.

This letter was given to me by Mr. S. K. Robbins, of Worcester, whose wife was a near relative of Mr. Cozzens. The letter is mainly interesting because it shows that a man who knew all about what was going on in respect to medical education in Massachusetts believed that Boston never would become much of a centre for instruction in medicine.. Now that Harvard University is putting up a magnificent group of thoroughly equipped buildings for the study of medicine, it is interesting to see that this notable movement was not foreseen by an especially well informed person seventy-five years ago, and that no such movement was thought possible by him; it is also interesting as showing what facilities there were for medical education in New York in 1827."

CAMBRIDGE, May 26, 1827.

MY DEAR SIR:

There is no one in your city with whom I am acquainted that is *impartial* on the subject on which I now write to you. I will therefore desire you to consider this letter as perfectly *confidential* & request you after reading it to write me as full information as you can, & to give me the result of your own observations & actual knowledge. As it will be impossible for me to visit your city in person to obtain information I must form my opinion on that derived from my friends there.

On the death of Dr. Dana I wrote to Dr. ——— to ask merely what the situation was worth per annum—what were the duties & what the prospects of an increase of the school. At the same time I particularly stated that in so doing *I must not be considered as applying for the office*. I remarked, however, that as I had *no time of my own here*, but lectures & recitations every day throughout the year, I should *not be unwilling* to change my place for one

which should give me an *equal support*, & *leave me more time* at my own disposal.

To this I received in reply that the number of pupils attending Dr. Dana had been comparatively small, & that the number next year would probably be about 80 at \$20 each, that a course of private lectures might be given in the city to ladies & gentlemen with profit each year. My friend also wrote that the Rutgers school would no doubt be *abandoned* as the legislature had passed a law rendering their Diplomas illegal. From the enquiries of another friend I am informed that the new law will not affect the Rutgers school much, but merely give a little more *trouble* to the graduates but their same diplomas will insure their possessors a *license* to practice in New Jersey, & a *license* to practice in N. J. will pass for a license to practice in N. York and the very legislators who wanted this law are beginning to perceive that public opinion is against it, & its *existence* will probably *be short*. My friend also says "while the college of Physicians and Surgeons go altogether upon *hopes* and *suppositions* the *facts* are all in favor of Rutgers—their last Professors will issue a circular to convince the public they are still *alive* and do not think the *law* will kill them." The college of Phys. & Surg. it is said have placed all *their reliance on this law*.

Now I learn that it is reported I have applied for the office, but such is *not* the fact. The President of our College yesterday informed me that Dr. Stevens had written to Dr. Warren in Boston to ask what were my qualifications & whether he thought I would *accept the place if chosen*. No official communication has been made to me directly, but I am desirous of getting at all the facts and prospects of the two schools from the friends of both parties & from disinterested persons. I have thought you would take some pains for aiding me in this, & at the same time *not say I had written you*.

Our medical course in Boston (Dr. Gorham having resigned & I being put in his place) after deducting expenses will not give even more than \$5 or 600 a year—my salary for duties at Cambridge is \$1000 & I pay all expenses, except of fuel. Thus I may estimate the income from *both* at \$12 or most 1300 per annum for which

I must labor *daily*. I can see no prospect of any increase of this as *our* medical school will probably never exceed 80 or 100 pupils. It appears to me that your city is growing so rapidly that a medical school must grow too if well conducted—but not *two* schools. I am told also that N. Y. affords good opportunity to get into Medical Practice.

From some information I am inclined to think that the prospect of the Rutgers School is the *best*, from the known talents of its Professors. I have some reason too to think that their chemical chair is not as well filled as they would *wish*, do you know how this is? & whether the present Prof. is likely to remain permanently? The patronage of the state & the support of the laws are greatly in favor of the permanency & welfare of the College of Phy. & Sur.

Now with so many pros & cons on both sides I cannot make up an opinion, & will esteem it a particular kindness if you will take some pains to send me all the information you can both as to the *present & future prospects* of *both* schools. I repeat again do not *use my name* or let it be supposed I have written you or any one on the subject.

Your friend, etc.

Dr. JOHN GREEN, of St. Louis, Mo., made remarks in connection with the above letter. Dr. GREEN said: "There are two interesting facts suggested by this letter. The College of Physicians and Surgeons is now the great medical department of Columbia University. The medical department of Harvard University, which the writer of this letter seems to have despaired of, is now the best endowed medical institution in America, and its endowment places it, I believe, above any other institution in the world. The letter brings up another interesting point, namely, the way in which the business side of medical teaching was conducted three-quarters of a century ago, when the net income of the school was divided among the professors in proportion to the number of students who took out tickets for the several courses; it shows that the

average income of a professor in the Medical School of Harvard University in 1827 was about \$600. Nowadays, at Harvard, all these things are changed. The professors who are obliged, as this gentleman writes, to devote all their time to the work of daily instruction, now receive good salaries. Men to whom the instruction in the school is secondary to and is supplemented by a remunerative medical practice receive salaries relatively smaller; but all receive good salaries,—a very different state of things from that which existed seventy-five years or even thirty-five years ago. The letter throws light on another point. This professor, who was engaged in giving scientific instruction in Harvard College, in 1827, received a salary of a thousand dollars; but much later, as late as 1855, I recall the case of at least one professor, a man of world-wide recognition in a leading department of natural science, who received but half that amount as salary, and whose fees for special instruction averaged scarcely three hundred dollars in addition. The treasurer's reports of Harvard College, in those days, were very interesting documents, as showing in detail the amounts paid to all persons who received money from the University funds. Perhaps we hardly appreciate how tardy was the recognition given to scientific work by those to whom the conduct of great educational institutions is intrusted; how very recent is the official appreciation of natural science. The late Professor Louis Agassiz once told a small group of students of a visit made by him to Oken, the great German investigator in comparative anatomy. After several hours spent in deep scientific conversation, he accepted an invitation to share the professor's midday meal, which consisted of boiled potatoes and salt. But, said Agassiz, with a lofty enthusiasm which not one of us could ever forget. 'Oken was then the owner of the finest anatomical library in Germany!' I have lived long enough in more or less intimate relations with a few eminent scientific

men in America to know something of the steadfast devotion to the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake that ennobles the lives of such men. The hill of science is even now by no means an easy one ; but how much harder was it in not very distant days within our own recollection ! ”

Prof. EDWIN A. GROSVENOR, of Amherst College, said :
“ The message that I have is entirely informal and verbal, but it is from the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal. I had occasion this summer to see a remarkable collection of portraits and miniatures and engravings, a collection that as far as I know is unparalleled in this country, and Mr. McLachlan, the curator, was speaking of the great distinction of the American Antiquarian Society, speaking of it as the foremost on the continent in prominence, said that he would be very glad if I would communicate with the Society, and extend the greetings and best wishes of this senior society of all the kindred societies in the Dominion to the senior society of all similar societies in this country, and I said that it would be a very great pleasure. It was in the summer time, when of course most of the officers of this institution were away, and he said that they would like to pass some vote, and asked me to bring it, which of course was a delight to me. In giving anything so informal, it seems a little difficult without dwelling upon it too much, but it would not be fair to him without in this way presenting the messages of that Society from its most prominent member, to the President and members of this Society.”

President SALISBURY. The Society is very grateful to receive this special communication.

Vice-President HOAR at this point addressed the Society on the Compromises of the Constitution. His paper is given on a subsequent page.

A contribution from Professor WILLIAM D. LYMAN, of Walla Walla, Washington, entitled "Painted Rocks of Lake Chelan," was read by Hon. SOLOMON LINCOLN.

MR. WEEDEN called attention to the work being done by the Colonial Dames of Rhode Island, in publishing documents relating to the history of that State, and suggested that the American Antiquarian Society assist the Rhode Island Society in its work.

On motion of Mr. HOAR, seconded by Dr. HALE, the President was requested to open communication with the Canadian Society, assuring it of this Society's desire for co-operation and further acquaintance.

Dr. HALE said he had received a letter from Bermuda, which gave some curious information respecting the granddaughter of King Philip, who seems to have been born in Bermuda about the year 1720. Dr. HALE will make this the subject of a paper to be presented at another meeting.

It was voted that all the papers and communications be referred to the Committee of Publication.

At the close of the meeting the members enjoyed the hospitality of the President at his residence.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Library, as is evident to the eye, is in good condition, and the Librarian's report shows it is receiving many gifts of value, for which we are duly grateful.

We have to record the deaths, during the last six months, of four American members and two foreign members, namely :—Charles Kendall Adams, LL.D. ; Edward Eggleston, L.H.D. ; Horace Gray, LL.D. ; John Wesley Powell, LL.D. ; John Bellows, A. M. ; Sir John George Bourinot, D.C.L.

We are glad to announce that the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology informs us that Dr. Trumbull's Dictionary of Eliot's Indian Bible is now printed in full ; and the volumes will soon be ready for distribution. It has received the careful supervision of Dr. Albert S. Gatschet of that Bureau ; and the students of the Algonquin language are greatly indebted to him for the care and learning with which he has edited it and carried it through the press.

For the Council,

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN,
CHARLES A. CHASE.

THREE COMMONWEALTHS, MASSACHUSETTS,
CONNECTICUT, RHODE ISLAND; THEIR
EARLY DEVELOPMENT.

BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

NEW ENGLAND was settled by one of those profound impulses in the popular mind which are not easily defined. The leading motive in this case was a desire for freer government, and it was formulated under the motto, freedom of worship, growing out of the division of parties in England. The nonconforming element in the mother country, afterward and for a time, overcame the conserving forces of English society. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when Robinson and Bradford had established their group of separatist pilgrims, first in tolerating Holland, then on the untrodden shores of Plymouth, the nonconforming Puritans, whether within or without the Anglican pale, being as yet a minority at home, sought the opportunity of a new and—as they conceived—a larger England.

The ancient forms of aristocracy and democracy,¹ descending from Aristotle through French writers into the eighteenth century, did not now trouble these nonconforming statesmen of England. They had a more ready source of statecraft and constitutional law. In the crude legislation and prophecies of the Old Testament, they found inchoate states, fresh from the hand of Jehovah. They fondly fancied that, freed from domination of pope and prelate, they could create anew the city of God. It may be doubted whether these familiar terms and symbols convey the whole, the universal truth. We are beginning to

¹ Woodrow Wilson, "The State," pp. 604, 605.

perceive that a large world has existed, outside the Hebrew, Greco-Roman and Teutonic experience. A Japanese scholar says, "the glory of having a free government is not necessarily confined to the Aryan family or to its more favored branch, the Anglo-Saxons. I believe that the seed of representative government is implanted in the very nature of human society and of the human mind. When the human mind and the social organism reach a certain stage of development—then the representative idea of government springs forth naturally and irresistibly."¹

However these tidal waves of history may be interpreted, we are concerned here only with one current of evolution. Theology has immense scope in human affairs. In Catholic or Lutheran, in Anglican or Calvinistic communities, it puts forth varying forms of civilized, yea of political life. Without question, the form of church government known as Congregationalism afforded greatest freedom to political development in the seventeenth century. Independents, Baptists, Quakers and all forms of Separatists finally rallied through these meetings of the people, in the days when religious meetings developed into the power of the state. In the limited democracy of the Congregations of New England, the Puritan proper found his natural sphere. An acute observer has said, "Democracy when crowned with power, seeks rather what it considers the well-being of the community than the liberty of the individual."²

Taine says, "the Puritan is troubled not only by what he ought to believe, but even more by what he ought to do." He might have added, "and far more by what he ought to be doing on account of that which his neighbor doeth."

The great English movement colonizing the Atlantic

¹ Iyenaga, "Constitutional Development of Japan." "J. H. U. Studies," IX., 20.

² Stimson, "Ethics of Democracy." *Scribner*, I., 670.

states, brought to our shores European civilization subject only to the conditions of a new and free world. These American conditions prevailed in New England, and the Puritan motive expressed in Congregational democracy was engrafted upon them. An able Swiss publicist, Borgeaud, in a thorough study of all constitutional development, has given recently more prominence to the ideas of New England, than her own sons have claimed for her. He cites the ideas of John Cotton and John Wise to show the education of the people in the practical administration of local government. We must remember that the hierarchical principle—the attainment of social and political order through coöperation of priest and ecclesia—was much more potent in the seventeenth century than it is now. The wars of France and Germany and the execution of Charles I. sufficiently indicate that.

Borgeaud¹ cites Cotton—"that the ministers have power over people of the faith, that the people have an interest in their ministers, and that each member of the congregation acquires rights and duties in respect to his fellow members." John Wise, of Ipswich, more than any one man, opened the way for the American Revolution and for the manifestation of the representative citizen. Nearly a century after Cotton, he was saying in "A Vindication of the Government of New England Churches" words like these—"they must interchangeably each man covenant to join in one lasting society—then all are bound by the majority to acquiesce in that particular form thereby settled, though their own private opinion inclines them to some other model."² No French Calvinist ever comprehended this sort of give and take.

The parts became a whole in these words; "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union. . . do ordain and establish this Constitution

¹ "Constitutions, European and American," p. 7. ² Borgeaud, p. 14.

for the United States of America."¹ Then John Marshall, "That the people have an original right to establish for their future government such principles as, in their opinion, shall most conduce to their own happiness, is the basis on which the whole American fabric has been erected."²

Borgeaud goes back to our commonwealths. "The constituent power throughout America is of New England origin. It is based not only upon the principle that the constituent authority resides in the people, but upon this further conception introduced into modern law by the Puritan Reformation, that this authority cannot be delegated."³ He holds that the constitution of Massachusetts adopted in 1780 was "a sovereign decree of the people."

Some of the consequences of this evolution of popular sovereignty appear in a comparison of England with America. "The exercise of constituent powers in all its stages by a representative body without a special mandate, is compatible with the English theory which makes Parliament sovereign. It is not compatible with the American theory, which in this matter has replaced 'the King, the Lords and the Commons' by the people."

When our British cousins, within this generation, suddenly awakened to the fact that the whole government of Great Britain was concentrated practically in a majority vote of the House of Commons, they discovered a new respect for the constitutional checks of our American democracy.

The nexus between our colonial development and the autonomy of states working into the union is established by our Swiss publicist, interpreted through the sagacious observation of Mellen Chamberlain. "But those who emigrated to the colonies left behind them institutions

¹ Borgeaud, p. 151. ² *Ibid.*, p. 126. ³ *Ibid.*, pp. 137, 139.

which were monarchical in church and state, and set up institutions which were democratic. And it was to preserve, not to acquire these democratic institutions that the liberal party carried the country through a long and costly (revolutionary) war."¹

These critical expositions of a disinterested and learned publicist give new emphasis to the political life of our early commonwealths in New England. We may ask attention to a review of history which is somewhat familiar.

The colony of Massachusetts existed for fifty-five years under a royal charter granted to the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." The charter empowered the freemen of the Company forever to elect from their own number, a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and eighteen Assistants, and to make laws "not repugnant to the laws of England." The executive, including the Assistants, was authorized, but not required, to administer to freemen the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

Winthrop, the governor, with the deputy-governor and assistants, had been chosen in England. There were some preliminary meetings at Salem, but the first American Court of Assistants was convened at Boston, Aug. 23, 1630. Some 118 persons² gave notice at this Court for admission as freemen. There were eight plantations or towns that participated in this assembly. The Court voted that Assistants only should be chosen by the Company at large, and that the Assistants with the Governor and Deputy-Governor, elected from themselves, should have the power of "making laws and choosing officers to execute the same." This movement, erratic in a democratic government, lasted only about two years. May 9, 1632, the freemen resumed the right of election, limiting the

¹ Winsor, "Nar. and Crit. Hist. of America," VI., 1, 2. Cited by Borgeaud, p. 4.

² Falfrey, I., 322.

choice of Governor to one of the existing Assistants. These issues are interesting as revealing the tides of sentiment for more or less aristocratic restriction in government. Winthrop gives in detail the angry discussion which the forecast of this measure produced in the council. He told them¹ "that the people intended at the next general Court, to desire that the Assistants might be chosen by the whole Court, and not by the Assistants only. Upon this, Mr. Ludlow grew into a passion, and said, that then we should have no government, but there would be an interim wherein every man might do what he pleased, etc." Though the other leaders were satisfied, Ludlow continued "stiff in his opinion."

In 1634, there were about 350 freemen, more than two-thirds of whom, according to Palfrey, had been admitted since the establishment of the religious test, some three years previous. It was "ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."²

In 1635 and the year following, the General Court legislated to separate the municipal functions of the particular towns from the larger political prerogatives reserved to itself. "As particular towns have many things which concern only themselves and the ordering of their own affairs" it was "ordered, that the freemen of every town, or the major part of them, shall only have power to dispose of their own lands and woods,—to grant lots, and make such orders as may concern the well-ordering of their own towns, not repugnant to the laws and orders established by the General Court." They could impose fines not exceeding twenty shillings and choose "constables, surveyors for the highways, and the like."³ Representation was proportioned roughly to the population,

¹ Winthrop, I., 74. ² Mass. Col. Rec., I., 87. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 172.

ten freemen being the minimum for one representative. Towns could dispose of "all single persons to service or otherwise," subject to "appeal to the Governor and Council or the Court."¹

A curious side-light is thrown on the working of democracy in New England, by the aberrations of the freemen in creating and abolishing a "Standing Council for life." It was a new order of magistrates, not contemplated by the charter, constituted March 3, 1636. Winthrop, Dudley and Endicott only were appointed under this authority "for term of their lives, as a standing council, not to be removed but upon due conviction of crime, insufficiency, or for some weighty cause, the Governor for the time being to be always President of this Council, and to have such further power out of Court as the General Court shall from time to time endue them withal."² It was claimed that this movement proceeded from Cotton, who derived his inspiration from Lord Say and Sele.³

May 22, 1638, the Deputies at the Court of Elections proposed an order "that no person chosen a Counsellor for Life should have any authority as a Magistrate, except he were chosen in the annual elections to one of the places of magistracy established by the patent." The Magistrates concurred,⁴ altering the expression to an explanation instead of a repeal, thus "saving their face" in oriental fashion.

Mr. Savage⁵ claims that this institution was the only example of a political election for life in our country. The extraordinary tenacity of this socio-political barnacle shows that Cotton, not to speak of Winthrop, did not easily part with the hope of bringing some of the ragged offshoots of feudalism across the Atlantic, and of planting them in the soil of the new Puritanism. The affair was of no practical consequence, but we are not yet done with

¹ Mass. Col. Rec., I., pp. 178, 186. ² *Ibid.*, 167, 176, 178. ³ Palfrey, I., 442, note.

⁴ Winthrop, I., 302. ⁵ *Ibid.*, note.

it. In 1642, "a book was brought into the Court wherein the institution of the Standing Council was pretended to be a sinful innovation."¹

In his serious account of this business, Winthrop shows his customary patient forbearance. Yet his caustic sagacity in construing popular characteristics speaks forth in the following general consideration: "And here may be observed how strictly the people would seem to stick to their patent when they think it makes for their advantage, but are content to decline it where it will not warrant such liberties as they have *taken up without warrant from thence*,² as appears in their strife for three deputies, etc."³

In 1643 was accomplished the great change which separated the Magistrates and Deputies in the General Court and established the co-ordinate branches of a legislature, which has become the method of government in all the States and in the United States. As Winthrop states "there fell out a great business upon a very small occasion." Mrs. Sherman's sow, or her claim for one, became the occasion of a suit with Captain Keayne. This suit went through the inferior courts and coming into the General Court set Magistrates and Deputies at a variance, in a most unseemly way. Sympathy for the poor woman against the rich man affected the more popular representatives, the deputies, and jealousy between the two classes of legislators or judges confused the whole matter. The judicious saw that such disputes must be stopped, and henceforth the two houses held their sessions "apart by themselves." Moreover, according to the Governor, "this order determined the great contention about the 'negative voice.'"

The towns of Massachusetts, according to De Tocqueville, included in their first elements something creative and life-giving. In New England he says "the impulsion of politi-

¹ Palfrey, I., 614. ² Italics are ours. ³ Winthrop, I., 303.

cal activity was given in the townships ; and it may almost be said that each of them originally formed an independent nation.—It is important to remember that they have not been invested with privileges, but that they have, on the contrary, forfeited a portion of their independence to the State.”¹ This position is opposed by Mr. Goodell and in the most positive terms by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, as follows : “So far as the Massachusetts system of towns is concerned, this proposition does not accord with well-established historical facts ; and if the view taken in this paper of the connection between the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Massachusetts towns is correct, it explains in a perfectly natural way the fact, so enlarged upon by Prof. Johnston, that, while the towns in Massachusetts developed out of the colony, in Connecticut the process was reversed, and the colony resulted from a confederation of the towns, in the way stated by De Tocqueville. The charter of 1629 was the germ in both cases.”²

Mr. Adams cites the records of the early towns at length, and brings many interesting details to support the following conclusions :

“1st. The Mass. town government was of purely secular origin, and had no connection with the church organization, except that certain members of the church were freemen and inhabitants of the town, and the town was under legal obligations to maintain the church.

“2d. The basis of the town organization was the joint interest of individuals, commonly termed freemen or inhabitants, but sometimes planters, in a tract of land referred to indifferently as a town and as a plantation ; and their inhabitants were in the nature of stockholders in a modern corporation. As such they exercised a jealous oversight over the admission into the enterprise of new inhabitants, proprietors or stockholders.

¹ “Democracy in America,” 1899, I., 61. ² *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, VII., 180.

"3d. In the original establishment of the town governments and their progressive development to meet the increasing requirements of a growing community the analogy of the charter was closely followed. The body of freemen or inhabitants constituted the General Court¹ of the town, subsequently called the general town meeting; and the townsmen, later on the selectmen, were the board of assistants, or, as they would now be called, directors.

"4th. As development and increased differentiation took place the original legal lines were strictly followed. The secular and the religious organizations separated more and more as new functions were from time to time imposed on the former; while the latter had already, at the very beginning, attained complete development."²

Again. "The organization of the Massachusetts colony was, on the contrary, distinctly and indisputably legal, commercial and corporate, and not religious, ecclesiastical or feudal."³

It will be observed that Mr. Adams and, more or less, his supporting authorities exalt the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony until it overwhelms and obscures all other forming causes. It is true that Mr. Lowell, whose statement he considers the best "of what the founders of Massachusetts originally proposed and what they subsequently did," with rare intuition strikes to the root and source of the forming power incorporated in these towns. Hear his suggestive words: "Sober, earnest and thoughtful men, it was no Utopia, no new Atlantis, no realization of a splendid dream, which they had at heart, but the establishment of the divine principle of Authority on the common interest and common consent; the making, by a

¹ Mr. Adams applies this term "General Court" to town government.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., VII., 186.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 205. Mr. Adams brings in support of these positions Professor Parker and Judge Chamberlain; also, Doyle, "Puritan Colonies," II., 12.

contribution from the free-will of all, a power which should curb and guide the free-will of each for the general good."¹ Here Lowell gives us in a nutshell the essence of republican representative government, "the divine principle of Authority based on common consent."

A definition of an ordinary charter prevailing in the seventeenth century runs thus. The owner does what he will with his cattle "only by virtue of a *grant* and *charter* from both his and their maker." A royal charter, based on land and the feudal tendencies then inhering in land, conveys legal and commercial privilege; but in the hands of an active, intelligent body of freemen, it conveys much more. The French De Castine says "a charter cannot create liberty; it verifies it." No words more clearly explain the legitimate course of the chartered colonies of New England.

Judge Chamberlain, well versed in the origins of Massachusetts, says, "Thus Massachusetts, in some respects unique in the motives which led to its settlement and original in transforming its land-company charter into a frame of general government, ordered the founding and character of its towns, churches and other institutions on the basis of an independent Commonwealth."² Judge Chamberlain agreeing generally with Mr. Adams's views especially in relation to the charter, prefers to state his own opinion. In brief, "an early town of Massachusetts was an agricultural community, having little or nothing to do with manufactures except of the simplest kind, or with trade."

The term "inhabitant" included all male adults who were there legally, irrespective of ownership of lands.

The whole body of the people consisted, first of those who had been admitted freemen of the colony; secondly, of those who, by voluntary association or by subsequent

¹ "Among My Books," pp. 228-230; cited by Mr. Adams.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., VII., 230.

vote express or implied, had become permanent residents; thirdly, of the miscellaneous class of servants or laborers; and lastly, all other persons, as women or children, not usually reckoned as members of the body politic.¹ All of the first three classes assembled "in general meeting of the inhabitants."² Again Chamberlain says, "These towns were of domestic and secular origin, owing little to English models, and least of all to English parishes."³

Dr. Edward Channing, admitting that "the towns were of legal origin, and our State was of legal origin,"⁴ deriving their powers from the Crown, yet citing Bryce as follows, claims that "the northern township is an English parish—the town-meeting is the English vestry."⁵ Dr. Channing objects to Mr. Adams's main position that "the towns were not based on any model; they grew by the exercise of English common-sense and political experience, combined with the circumstances of the place."⁶

To complete and establish Mr. Adams's argument that the towns of the Bay, of necessity and essentially, grew out of the charter and from no other source, he would have been obliged to prove that other towns, elsewhere and of like characteristics, were created in a similar way or by charter. Only of Connecticut does he assert so much, claiming that the growths, severed from the Massachusetts stock, sprouted anew in the soil of the Connecticut river valley, though there was no distinct transfer of royal power from the original charter. If the towns of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield were thus silently endowed with sovereign grace by their migration into the wilderness, why did they seek and obtain a charter of their own some fifteen years after their settlement? As we shall show presently, the life of the Connecticut towns was organized on a basis quite different, and by processes not commercial or of regular corporate procedure.

¹ 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., VII., p. 230. ² *Ibid.*, p. 241. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 251. ⁵ "American Commonwealth," I., 563.

⁶ 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc., VII., 262.

The older settlements at Plymouth had been made, expressly disregarding chartered rights. Governor Bradford said of the famous Mayflower compact, or "combination," to use his own word, that it was made to control those who on shipboard had been partly mutinous or rebellious. They declared "That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comand them, the patente they had being for Virginia¹ and not for New-england."² And moreover the "combination" was occasioned "partly that shuch an acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure."³

Let us examine into the establishment of government in the colony of Connecticut. Hooker's migration had occurred in 1636. A commission issued from the General Court of Massachusetts, March 3, 1636, to eight of the persons who "had resolved to transplant themselves and their estates unto the River of Connecticut."⁴ This commission was plainly limited, in that it took "rise from the desier of the people whoe removed, whoe judged it in Conueniencie to goe away without any frame of Gouvernment, not from any clame of the Massachusetts Jurisdiction ouer them by virtew of Patent."⁵

Is not this in its essence, manifestly a semi-political and not a corporate and commercial issue of power? The forthcoming Yankees were careful to take to themselves only one side of the obligation; to profit by receiving the attributes of power, without rendering any allegiance in return. But they took a political prerogative, not a commercial privilege; a function of government and not a function of trade. Just as the colony of Massachusetts,

¹ "History of Plymouth Plantation," p. 41. Bradford had said previously, "nor they ever made use of this patente (i. e. of Virginia) which had cost them so much labour and charge, as by ye sequell will appear." ² *Ibid.*, p. 89. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

⁴ Mass. Col. Rec., 170.

⁵ Rec. Com. N. E., Hazard, II., 119. Cited by J. H. Trumbull, "Constitutions of Connecticut," p. 1.

based on territorial grants and trading privileges from the British Crown, made war and peace and coined money, if necessary, so it put out a sucker of practical sovereignty, which rooted in the Connecticut valley.

The planters met January 14, 1638-9, and adopted the eleven "fundamental orders," by which the colony was substantially governed until the year 1818, though it obtained legitimate authority therefor from the British Crown, as we shall see later on. These orders "provided for an annual election by ballot of the freemen for Governor and not less than six other magistrates, the latter to be chosen only from a list of persons put in nomination six months before at the preceding session of the legislature, at which the representatives from each town might nominate two, and the Court might add others, if thought fit. The legislature was to meet twice a year, in Spring and Fall, and each town could send three or four deputies, as it pleased, to be elected for each session by ballot at town meetings. The Assistants sat in this body, and four of them were necessary to give it a quorum. The Governor was the presiding officer, with a casting vote in case of a tie. New towns were to send such number of deputies as might be thereafter fixed by law in each case. 'A reasonable proportion to the number of Freemen that are in the said Townes being to be attended therein.' There was but a single chamber."¹ This is an early record of a "frame of government." The men of Connecticut claim it to be the first written constitution in history.

The germ of constitutional government, whether it was by a formal constitution or otherwise, is justly considered by the investigators of the history of Connecticut to have been in a sermon of Thomas Hooker preached before the General Court in May, 1638, viz.: "The foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the

¹ Baldwin "The Three Constitutions of Connecticut," p. 180. I have freely used this thorough study.

people.—The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance.—They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them."¹

Though Hooker was thoroughly Puritan, believing in theocratic ascendancy, yet as indicated above, he had gone farther than his associates of Massachusetts in clearing those jungles of sovereignty, which so easily put forth the growth of tyranny. However loyal to dictates of conscience—which were as revelation to the ordinary Puritan—Hooker² perceived that the will of the citizen, his political action, whether as ruler, judge or constable, must be firmly set within the "bounds and limitations," of power which should be constituted in a legitimate way. This is of the essence of constitution-making.

By a series of legislative acts in 1697, 1699, 1708,³ the colony riveted an ecclesiastical system firmly on the necks of all citizens. The corner-stone was in the act of 1708, which approved "the confession of faith, heads of agreement, and regulations in the administration of discipline agreed to by the synod at Saybrook and enacting that all churches thus united in doctrine, worship and discipline, should be 'owned and acknowledged established by law.'"⁴ There was no mistaking the political bearing of this establishment, which rested on all citizens alike. When in 1708, the consciences, by an act "for the ease of such as soberly dissent from the way of worship and ministry established," were relieved, their pockets were firmly held by the state. This act extended the privileges of the "Toleration Act of William and Mary," but "with the special proviso, that this should not be construed 'to the excusing of any person from paying any such minister or town dues, as are now or shall be hereafter due from them.'"⁵

¹ Col. Conn. Hist. Soc., I., 20.

² See Hooker's "Survey of Church Discipline," pp. 4, 13, for a full statement.

³ Col. Rec. Conn., IV., 198, 316; V., 87. ⁴ Trumbull, "Historical Notes," p. 30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30. Citing Col. Rec., V., 50.

As the eighteenth century, through political development and a larger philosophy broadened the minds of men, this enforced system of religion became more and more oppressive. The Baptists and Methodists had repeatedly demanded "that 'legal religion' should be abolished, and 'the adulterous union of Church and State forever dissolved.'"¹ The Episcopalians also remonstrated. In 1816, the "American and Toleration" ticket was defeated, to triumph in the following year. The first act of the General Assembly was one "securing equal rights, powers and privileges to Christians of every denomination in this State." In the next year, another bill "more effectually secured equal rights."

Toleration and not liberty of conscience was embodied in the constitution of 1818 in Connecticut. The section treating this matter, as proposed, reads "no preference shall be given by law to any religious sect or mode of worship"; it was adopted after changing "religious" to "Christian." Meanwhile a substitute "that rights of conscience are inalienable; that all persons have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to their own consciences; and no person shall be compelled to attend any place of worship, or contribute to the support of any minister, contrary to his own choice";² offered by a clergyman was rejected.

"In the year 1818, when the new constitution was formed, this last restriction was removed; and religion was left entirely to voluntary support,—a sermon preached by Dr. Lyman Beecher, during the period when the question of the new constitution was pending, in which with all his eloquence he sets forth the plan of leaving religion to voluntary support, as 'one which would open the flood-gates of ruin on the state.'"

Connecticut writers are wont to speak of this religious

¹ "Historical Notes," p. 32. ² Trumbull, "Historical Notes," p. 54.

² Dutton, in "Ecclesiastical Hist. Conn.," p. 122.

condition under the constitution of 1818, as "complete religious liberty." Their conception of liberty within the bounds of Connecticut involved a naïve assumption, that this was equivalent to liberty everywhere. Their society being homogeneous and sufficient unto itself, liberty or opinion elsewhere did not enter into consideration. This quietism is finely expressed in the words of one of her ablest sons, Leonard Bacon, uttered in 1859. "Our own Connecticut—to our filial hearts the glory of all lands—how much is it indebted for the present aspect of its Christian civilization, to that organized association of its clergy, and that strict confederation of its churches, which were effected when as yet there was within our boundaries neither church nor pastor of any other ecclesiastical order! The unassociated churches, yielding to the genius of the system while rejecting its forms, have shared in the blessing. The churches that have been formed by dissent and secession from us—Episcopalian, Baptist and Methodist—have had in all their growth, the benefit of being planted in our Puritan soil, and of being stimulated and invigorated by the strong religious influence that had not yet ceased to mould the character of our native population. Is there no meaning in the fact that not one of our churches, and only one of our parishes fell in the Unitarian defection?"¹ Those curious dreamers calling themselves Catholic Anglicans will take notice. None knowing the excellent Doctor Bacon can doubt his wisdom in interpreting the signs of the time as revealed in his day. A generation of progress in the American world has left him stranded on the theological issue, as a similar current had beached Lyman Beecher on the political issue.

I have not treated directly the colony of New Haven, for it was incorporated in 1665 into the larger current of Connecticut life. These settlers inclined to be theocratic,

¹ Bacon "Hist. Dis. Eccl. Hist. Conn.," p. 70.

and their principles tended to stiffen the ecclesiastical tendencies of the descendants of Hooker.

We may now turn to the origins of the third and smallest member of the commonwealths of New England. Volumes of casuistry and special pleading have been wasted in trying to prove that the banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts Bay was necessary and inevitable. The fact remains that the Bay drove out the man, who, with his followers, alone perceived the true relations of church and state. Those relations were at last comprehended and introduced into the fundamental law of Massachusetts itself.

Williams with four or five companions came into Providence in 1636. The only title or prescribed right possessed by these immigrants and planters, was by purchase or gift of the lands from the Indian chieftains according to their customs. In the next year thirteen persons, probably "masters of families," made the following memorable agreement. "We, whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together in a town fellowship, and such others whom they shall admit unto them, only in civil things."¹

Thomas Durfee, no enthusiast, but a clear intellect, a competent and calm jurist, says of this momentous declaration, that it secured soul-liberty not by grant, but by limitation. He says the statement was the "constitutional declaration of the right in its widest meaning, covering not only freedom of faith and worship, but also freedom of thought and speech in every legitimate form. The right has never been expressed with more completeness."²

Remember it was not after the white light of the eigh-

¹ Arnold, "Hist. R. I.," I., 103. ² Durfee, *Historical Discourse*, 1881.

teenth century had illuminated the whole world, but in the darkness of the early seventeenth, that this practical utterance was put forth. Instead of putting king or priest above the soul, and thereafter allowing certain privileges to the spirit, Williams put the divine element in the human creature first, and formulated all civil government after this pre-eminent principle.

The movement based on this document cleared the body politic from religious domination. It demonstrated for the first time that external political control was not essential to maintain internal religious belief in the members of the body politic. It did not constitute, though it led to a civil government. In that aspect, it interests chiefly, as showing the minimum political development from which any sort of body politic can be started into being. It was a pure democracy, a meeting of a town, but not yet a town-meeting as the term has established itself in history. Even "civil things" had to be defined in practical government, and if we had all the ins and outs of condemnation of Joshua Verin in 1637, it would be very instructive. What is known, shows that the inevitable "woman-question" cropped out in the seventeenth century. Verin's wife wanted to go to meeting often; husband would not allow it. One Arnold argued for Verin that when he consented to the order for liberty of conscience, he never intended it should extend to the breach of any ordinance of God, such as the subjection of wives to their husbands. The town agreed that "Verin upon the breach of a covenant for restraining of the libertie of conscience, shall be withheld from the libertie of voting till he shall declare the contrarie."¹

The first upward step, the first delegation of power, came in 1640. The citizens "being freely willing and also (having) bound themselves to stand to one arbitration

¹ Arnold, R. I., p. 105.

in all differences amongst us”¹ appointed four persons to be increased to “five disposers,” to serve in terms of three months. It was “agreed that after many considerations and consultations of our own state and also of states abroad in way of government we apprehend no way so suitable to our condition, as government by way of arbitration, no state we know of disallows of that, neither do we. But if men refuse,” *etc.*, then follow measures to compel. Here is germ of sanction by law, and a court sustained by executive power. “We agree, as formerly hath been the liberties of the town, so still to hold forth, liberty of conscience.” There were careful provisions for disposition of lands and records, for fees and for rendition of accounts by the disposers in a meeting of the town each quarter. Suit was allowed before the “disposers,” “if any person abuse another in person or goods.”—“All the whole inhabitants combine ourselves to assist any man in the pursuit of any party delinquent.” Thirty-nine persons subscribed to this agreement.

The expulsion carried out some of the best citizens of Boston, as considered from a cosmopolitan point of view. They bought the island, by the help of Williams and Sir Henry Vane, and made the settlement of Portsmouth in 1638, and of Aquidneck or Newport in 1639.

Though these immigrants were more radical than Williams in their theology, they had not risen to his conception of religious liberty. They started to found a theocratic state. Nineteen of the planters signed the following, viz. : “we whose names are underwritten do here solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a Bodie Politick, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of his, given in his holy word of truth, to be guided and

¹ Staples, *An. Prov.*, p. 40 *et seq.*

judged thereby.—Exod. xxiv. 3–4; 2 Chron. xi. 3; 2 Kings xi. 17.”¹ None were to be admitted as freemen, except by consent of the body.

While these principles were administered liberally according to Puritan ideas, the system “sympathized more with the law than with the liberty element in the embryo state.”² The government was organized in a more orderly manner than it was at Providence, and the progress of the community was more rapid. They soon discarded the theocratic element, and in the second year of the settlement at Newport, the two towns united in a common government, vesting authority in a governor, a deputy-governor and four assistants.

Juridical progress was remarkable, as in less than three years they advanced from the rude forum of the town-meeting “to a well organized judiciary, excellently suited to their wants and fully equipped for the dispensation of justice according to the methods and principles of the common law.”³ The code was completed in 1647 and the General Court of Trials⁴ was established for the whole colony. This at first had jurisdiction of the higher class of crimes: of cases between town and town; of cases between parties living in different towns; of cases against parties belonging to neighboring colonies. This tribunal was the predecessor of the present Supreme Court. The author of this system is not positively known, but circumstances point to William Coddington. It extended to all the towns of the future state, and it is doubtful if Roger Williams’s system of soul-liberty could have been sustained had it not fallen upon and adjusted itself to this frame work of civic experience.

The plantation at Pawtuxet or Warwick attempted to submit itself to Massachusetts Bay in 1642. It did not become a constituent part of Rhode Island until 1658.⁵

¹ Arnold, R. I., I., p. 124. ² *Ibid.*, p. 126. Cited from Judge Job Durfee.

³ Thos. Durfee, “Judicial Hist.,” p. 1, R. I. Tracts, No. 18. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ Arnold, R. I., I., 267.

All these outlaws from Massachusetts Bay had boldly planted themselves in the wilderness, but they craved the protection of the home government. John Clarke went from Newport, to petition for a charter in England, and Williams succeeded to his work there. He obtained a Parliamentary charter in 1644. He brought the precious document through Boston, by virtue of an official letter. The men of the Bay wanted no further intercourse, lest by "free liberty of ingress and egress, any of their people should be drawn away with his erroneous opinions." The union of the towns under the charter was accomplished in 1647.

In the fortuitous circumstances of these times, the charter¹ gave freedom to the little colony, which was almost absolute. Government was to accord with the laws of England; yet this limitation was nullified virtually, by the explanatory clause, "so far as the nature and constitution of that place will admit."² These conditions show that Clarke and Williams were in advance of the ordinary colonial legislators, or they could not have won so completely the confidence of the Parliamentary statesmen. Practical separation between Church and State was achieved in the patent for the first time in human history. For wherever the terms "government" or "law" occur, they are limited by the word "civil." For the first time, it is recognized in practical law and administration, that the individual citizen is directly related to his creator. The external world is regulated by the civil state, the world within is relegated to God alone.

The process of early legislation is interesting. All laws were to be first discussed in the towns.³ If the towns concurred in a proposed statute, it went to the "general

¹ "It is much in their hearts (if they may be permitted), to hold forth a livelie experiment, that a most flourishing civill state may stand and best bee maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a full libertie in religious concerns." Charter of R. I., 1663. ² R. I. Col. Rec., I., 158. ³ Arnold, R. I., I., 203.

Court," which decided whether or not it should become law. We must keep in mind, that however the pure democracy of Rhode Island failed in trying to project a government out of itself, just as the theocratic tendencies of Massachusetts Bay could not regulate civil government out of the metaphysical conceits of an ecclesiastical council, yet the original impulse of the Rhode Island man was never lost, but it affected every institution, proceeding from his subsequent activities.¹ In the beginning, there was no common burying-ground, nor school-house, nor town-house; and these peculiar features delayed the progress of the community, while they were shaping it.

According to Judge Durfee, "the General Assembly seems to have considered itself originally, a court as well as a legislature,"² but judicial action was generally tempered by an admixture of legislation. The judicial powers were not conferred on the legislature by charter; they grew out of the necessities of the colony. In 1699, the Earl of Bellomont criticised severely the processes of the courts. His facts were doubtless correct, but his conclusions were exaggerated by the influence of hostile, royal officers, and the necessary contrast with the orderly and accomplished judiciary of England. The judges in Rhode Island "give no directions to the jury, nor sum up the evidence to them, pointing unto the issue which they are to try."³ The custom of charging the jury was introduced by Judge Story early in the nineteenth century.

The Parliamentary patent gave place to the royal charter in 1663. Credit is given to John Clarke⁴ for obtaining the extraordinary privileges from the Crown and Court, which are granted under this instrument. It substantially confirmed the first charter and gave greater powers to the people, creating absolute sovereignty in the colony. In

¹ Foster, *Town Gov't in R. I.*, J. Hopkins Studies, 4 Series, pp. 83, 89.

² Durfee, "Judicial History," pp. 34, 58. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴ Arnold, *R. I.*, I., 290, *et seq.*

these points, it differs from all royal charters. 1. It recognizes Indian ownership of the soil. 2. It accords with the procedure of the Frenchman De Castine, confirming and not creating absolute liberty of conscience. "Noe person shall bee in any wise molested, or called in question for any difference of opinion in matters of religion which doe not actually disturb the civill peace of our said colonye." This was while the laws of England rigidly required uniformity in religious belief. 3. Issued by a monarch, the charter was purely republican. The colony could make laws agreeable to those of "our Realme of England," but these were to be also in accord with "the nature and constitution of the place and people there." There was no oath of allegiance, and the military arm of the state was controlled by the people. The colony exercised the right of declaring martial law against the remonstrances of the royal governors of New England. Here were embodied about all the sanctions of sovereignty which a monarchical government could confer on a representative government by the people—that is, a republic. It is not strange that this document—surpassing as it did the high political aspirations of the eighteenth century—should endear itself to the people, and should last through all political development until 1843.

Under the royal charter, the judiciary was changed somewhat. The government was vested in a Governor, a Deputy-Governor, ten Assistants and a body of Deputies. The duties of the Deputies were legislative; those of the Governor, Deputy and Assistants, were magisterial also.¹ In 1722, the custom of electing ten assistants by general ticket ceased.² Thereafter, one assistant was chosen from each town. The body became the modern Senate or upper house, representing the towns. The house of Deputies became Representatives, based on a

¹ Durfee, "Judicial History," p. 10. ² Arnold, R. I., I., 296.

shifting proportion of population. This contrasts with Connecticut where the upper house is the popular branch.

Under both charters, the General Assembly rested on the freemen, who were admitted such generally on the application of the several towns. "Not every resident was a legal inhabitant. Some time elapsed after one's arrival in the colony before he could be received as an inhabitant, participating thereby in certain rights to the common lands, doing jury, and being eligible to some of the lesser town offices. If his conduct while thus situated gave satisfaction he might be propounded at town meeting to become a freeman, and if no valid objection was brought against him, at the next meeting he was admitted to all the rights of the freemen, or close corporators of the colony."¹

In 1666, we find the working of the custom. "It was the practice to admit as freemen those whose names were sent in for that purpose by the clerks of the respective towns, as well as those who personally appeared before the Assembly, being duly qualified. A large number were thus admitted from all the towns at the opening of this session."²

Writers from both Connecticut and Rhode Island have considered that the practice of the two colonies differed somewhat at this point.³ The Connecticut charter contemplated a body of freemen, which should elect officers and form an administration; while the smaller colony went through the towns to reach the same ultimate constituency. In Connecticut "only the general court had the power to admit freemen,—residence within the jurisdiction and previous admission as an inhabitant of one of the towns being the only qualifications required by the constitution and charter."⁴

¹ Arnold, R. I., I., 256. ² *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³ Baldwin, "Three Constitutions," p. 188; Foster, Town Gov't, R. I., J. Hopkins Studies, 4 Series, p. 35. ⁴ J. H. Trumbull, "Hist. Notes," p. 8.

A blot rests on the scutcheon of Rhode Island, which is rather technical than actual. It was charged by Chalmers and others, that Roman Catholics were denied all political rights as early as 1663. This charge has no foundation.¹ An act was passed in 1719, "that all men professing Christianity and of competent estates and of civil conversation though of different judgments in Religious Affairs (Roman Catholics only excepted) shall be admitted Freemen and shall have liberty to choose and be chosen Officers in the Colony both military and civil."² No Catholic was ever oppressed under the act,³ and it was repealed in 1783.⁴ It was a political restraint and no such stricture was laid upon the Jews. Yet, "both Roman Catholics and Jews were not only allowed in Rhode Island, as they were nowhere else in New England, the quiet enjoyment of their religious faith and forms of worship, but were on several occasions, upon petition to the Assembly, naturalized as citizens of the colony."⁵

We cannot claim that these descendants of Roger Williams and Clarke equalled them in breadth of religious view or in political sagacity, for where were the men in the early eighteenth century, to be compared with them? Such as they were, it is manifest that they worked upon a small issue of politics, rather than upon the principles underlying their colonial state. Immense prejudice against Catholics prevailed in England under William and Mary. Remembering Andros, Rhode Island dreaded losing its charter. A small phrase against Catholics seemed easy and harmless to the politicians of the day.

Massachusetts had limited her franchise in 1634, by a religious test "two-thirds of the freemen admitted (since the test) and a majority of the residue were all members of Churches."⁶ What the men of the Bay regarded as a

¹ Rider, *Inquiry*, p. 15; *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, 2d Series, I.

² Rider, p. 25; Arnold, *R. I.*, II., 491. ³ Rider, pp. 37, 51.

⁴ Arnold, *R. I.*, II., 490. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 494. ⁶ Palfrey, I., 384.

state and a political government, we should consider an ecclesiastical or a semi-theocratic administration. An English Puritan, D'Ewes, writing in 1638, expresses the admiration, this sort of heaven on earth excited in the old world. "Their numbers there did now amount to some 50,000, and most of them truly pious; and every parish supplied with such able, painful, preaching ministers, as no place under heaven enjoys the like."

Massachusetts was a semi-commercial and semi-ecclesiastical corporation, seeking political freedom and independence of the royal control. It was typical of her difficulties, when in 1638, Winthrop says a very strict order was sent from the lords commissioners that the charter be sent home. It was resolved "best not to send it, because then such of our friends and others in England would conceive it to be surrendered, and that thereupon we should be bound to receive such a governour and such orders as should be sent to us, and many bad minds, yea, and some weak ones among ourselves, would think it lawful if not necessary, to accept a general governour."¹

The Bay wrestled through the seventeenth century in a series of struggles to avoid the impending ascendancy of the royal government, which ended in the loss of the charter. Meanwhile, though Connecticut and Rhode Island were affected by the movements of Andros and others, their chartered rights were so much broader in a political sense, that they worked out democratic polity, through an evolution almost unfettered.

The early political aspirations of Massachusetts can be hardly separated from the strong theocratic tendency which moved her in applying a religious test to practical government. There are not only the prominent proceedings like the banishment of Williams and the Antinomians, the expulsion of the Baptists and Quakers, but other

¹ Winthrop, I., 268.

incidents, which show a constant administration of affairs on the narrow lines held by the Independent, Congregational Churches. In 1629, Endicott sent out John and Samuel Browne,¹ because they would not conform with the Prayer Book, instead of without it. "New England was no place for such as they."

The case of William Vassall in 1646, brings out all the exciting elements at work in the development of civil government in this interesting colony. According to Winthrop,² he was "sometimes one of the assistants of Massachusetts, but now of Scituate in Plymouth jurisdiction, a man of a busy and factious spirit, and always opposite to the civil governments of this country and the way of our churches." Associated with the non-members of churches he petitioned to Parliament "that the distinctions which were maintained here, both in civil and church estate, might be taken away, and that we might be wholly governed by the laws of England."

This petition brought forward the whole relation of the Colony to England, and was referred to the next session of the General Court. The magistrates gave their opinion first. "All agreed that our charter was the foundation of our government, and thereupon some thought that we were so subordinate to the Parliament as they might countermand our orders and judgments, etc., and therefore advised that we should petition the parliament for enlargement of power, etc. Others conceived otherwise, and that though we owed allegiance and subjection to them—yet by our charter we had absolute power of government."³ The elders substantially confirmed these opinions of the civil department, but they stated some limitations which are interesting. "Concerning our way of answering complaints against us in England, we conceive, that it doth not well suit with us, nor are we directly called thereto,

¹ Palfrey, I., 298. ² New England, II., 261. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

to profess and plead our right and power, further than in a way of justification of our proceedings questioned, from the words of the patent. In which agitations and the issues thereof our agents shall discern the mind of the parliament towards us, which if it be propense and favorable, there may be a fit season to procure such countenance of our proceedings, and confirmation of our just powers, as may prevent such unjust complaints and interruptions, as now disturb our administrations. But if the parliament should be less inclinable to us, we must wait upon providence for the preservation of our liberties."¹ The ecclesiastics were the better politicians and vindicated their power as leaders in the peculiar government of the colony. The naïve assumption of "just" to themselves and "unjust" to their opponents was fairly balanced by their serene faith that "providence" would electioneer ultimately in their favor.

The modern writers of history in Massachusetts have escaped from the strange delusions affecting the earlier interpreters of her record. From John Cotton and Hubbard, through Cotton Mather to Quincy and Palfrey, one story sounds in their ears. In their distorted vision, an inevitable, providential necessity² forced the administration of their state from one form of bigotry to another, until the widening political and social activities of the community compelled her into a complete separation of church and state. Charles Francis Adams has brought forward the original facts, and has divested the interpretation of the distorted colorings imposed by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "A modified form of toleration was in 1780 grudgingly admitted into the first constitution of the State; in was not until 1833 that com-

¹ *New England*, II., p. 282.

² *Note*. "Heresy was an unclean thing; the presence of a misbeliever was a danger." Doyle, "Puritan Colonies," II., 90.

plete liberty of conscience was made part of the fundamental law."¹

A competent and disinterested student² of our history has declared that the political development of Massachusetts—her large governmental impulses growing out of communal life in the towns—alone saved her from the theocratic tyranny the Mathers and their kind would have inflicted on their fellow citizens. We have shown that Hooker separated church and state in Connecticut by practical methods, which lasted nearly two centuries. It was the lack of this orderly political development that kept Massachusetts vibrating in political unrest.

The facts have been set forth by generation after generation until there is no excuse for wilful ignorance. The intensive theocratic system, culminating in Massachusetts after the death of Winthrop, bred direct persecution, positive anti-toleration, under an enforced relation of church and state until 1833. John Cotton was one of the least severe persecutors among the early settlers. Yet his introverted pleading³ reveals curiously the working of a mind in the seventeenth century, which could conceive of no conscientious conviction outside the conscience of the reasoner.

Turning now to Toleration—the negative perch of bigots—we start with Nathaniel Ward, the best statesman of the Massachusetts theocracy. The *Simple Cobler of Agawam* in 1647 said, "My heart hath naturally detested

¹ "Mass. Historians and History," p. 33. I have used freely Mr. Adams's authorities. ² Doyle, "Puritan Colonies," I., 187, 188.

³ "But to excommunicate an Heretick, is not to persecute; that is, it is not to punish an innocent, but a culpable and damnable person, and that not for conscience, but for persisting in error against light of conscience, whereof it hath been convinced." Cotton, answer to Williams. Narragansett Club Pub. III., 48, 49; also II., 37.

And the Quaker Bishop, in "New England Judged," said, "Those who had Loudly Cried out of the Tyranny and Oppression of the Bishops in Old England, and from whom they fled; but when they settled in a place where they had liberty to Govern, made their little finger of Cruelty bigger than ever they found the Loynes of the Bishops."

—Toleration of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes." We have been surfeited with statement going to show that these persecutors were more enlightened and more liberal than all others of their time. Yet Roger Williams proved the contrary in 1644, when he said, "let conscience and experience speak how in the not cutting off their many religions, it hath pleased God not only not to be provoked, but to prosper the state of the United Provinces our next neighbors, and that to admiration."¹

The next generation went bravely on in theocratic development. There have been myriad forms of tyranny, but none worse than the inspired conscience exercised, when it dominated other consciences.

Increase Mather, in his preface,² 1681, to Samuel Willard's *Brief Animadversions* stated the matured convictions of Massachusetts. The seed sown in the first settlements around the Bay had borne fruit. The expulsion of Roger Williams, the political defeat of Vane in 1637, the banishment of Anne Hutchinson, the execution of Mary Dyer, the persecution of the Baptists; all this was narrow and narrowing, but it was thorough.

The Puritans of New England fondly fancied that they were creating commonwealths, through the support and interaction of the churches, which should absorb the old political functions of the state, and turn the world at large into a kingdom of heaven. The actual movement developing the modern state was in the opposite direction, precisely as Mr. Doyle, viewing us from Europe, has clearly comprehended. The "worldly people," the men

¹"The Bloody Tenent" (1644), p. 160.

²"If men will call unjustifiable Practices by the name of their opinion, and, when their evils are borne witness against, make outcries that they suffer for their opinion and for their conscience: How is it possible for those to help them, who desire to keep their own consciences pure, and without offence towards God, by being faithful according to that capacity the Lord hath set them in; and giving a due testimony against those things, which they believe provoke him to jealousy."

in the street worked out a political freedom culminating in the American Revolution, which finally penetrated the congregations of the churches and converted them to practical Christianity. No episode in history indicates more clearly the large currents of evolution, which turn the swirling eddies of theocratic culture to wider political development. As the eighteenth century came in, America discovered, by the second quarter of the nineteenth century she developed in practical politics, that a free, democratic expression at the polls was better politics and even better religion, than imperial decree, synod-mandate, or papal bull.

It is often asserted in apology for the early rulers of the Bay, that their course was inevitable—under the tacit inference that theocratic absolutism was the only possible working government. But the Netherlands had a comparatively liberal administration, and Connecticut, under Hooker, was adapting theocracy to democratic representation without persecution.

We need not change the colors of the rainbow to justify Cotton and Wilson. We can at least go as far as Winthrop in his confession that there was "too much" theocracy.

Roger Williams, before Kepler's immortal laws had much affected science, a century and a half before Ben Franklin exploited electricity or Priestley revealed oxygen, had voiced the separation of church and state. The clear, limpid idea, that "only in civil things" should the power of man embodied in the state touch or control the soul of man—which is the province of God—became accomplished fact in the little commonwealth of Rhode Island. In about two centuries the extending idea embraced the United States of America. Its course must continue so long as time itself responds to human aspiration.

There are two constant marvels in this bit of history.

1. That the idea, once formulated, worked itself so slowly

into the consciousness of other communities, even in the adjoining districts of Massachusetts and Connecticut. This requires no comment.

2. That a civic principle deemed so revolutionary in the seventeenth century should have made such little practical difference in the political and social development of Rhode Island, when it emerged and was adopted into the life of the state. Rhode Island has been noted for oddities and individualities. Yet these have affected very little the steady development of the community along the lines inevitable to the progress of America. It is true that the infant colony suffered from the vagaries of the wild theorists; Samuel Gorton and those like him, who drifted into these open harbors. But there came with them much free thought which grew and prospered. Order, in some way, was established over and through these chaotic elements.

The colony at first lacked the regular systems of education maintained in New England by the Congregational theocracy, and in the Atlantic states largely by the great Presbyterian churches. Toward the close of the century, Cotton Mather could say that "if a man had lost his religion, he might find it in Rhode Island at the general muster of opinionists." Notwithstanding these drawbacks, Newport advanced in the middle eighteenth century and established social culture equal to any prevailing in the colonies. Thanks to the seed scattered by Berkeley in receptive soil, that community surpassed the descendants of the Mathers in the better elements of living. Later, William Ellery Channing carried a torch into Massachusetts which lighted up the dark theology of Cotton, Wilson and the Mathers, and the consequent radiation moved their descendants in Massachusetts, as no modern influence has ever affected it.

Josiah Quincy said in 1830, "had our early ancestors adopted the course we at this day are apt to deem so easy and obvious, and placed their government on the

basis of liberty for all sorts of consciences, it would have been, in that age, a certain introduction of anarchy."¹ He should have proved his statement by something more than assertion or collateral inference. Government by and through persecution is a serious matter of consideration at any time; it ought to have been infamous in the nineteenth century.

In Rhode Island, absolutely founded on this "basis of liberty," there was nothing like anarchy at any period of its history.

Williams² was explicit as his master Coke or any modern jurist, when he set forth the plain duty of a citizen. Liberty of conscience, "equality in Christ"—in his words—did not free the recipient from his constant political obligation to the state.

Massachusetts clung to her mediæval theocracy while her town meetings slowly worked out individual freedom. Connecticut, farther advanced under Hooker, developed a practical course of administration according with her settled union of church and state. But Connecticut dragged through the eighteenth century—as has appeared—before she could arrive at toleration.

When the New England merged into the New America, Stephen Hopkins, Nathanael Greene and the rest mustered beside Roger Sherman of Connecticut and the Adamsses of Massachusetts.

In all the military development of our country—that sublime test, which welds the right arm of individual men into the true consolidation of the state—Rhode Island has

¹ "Memorial Hist. Boston," I., 127.

² "Both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks may be embarked in one ship. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments, I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits."—Roger Williams to the Town, 1655. Arnold, R. I., I., 255.

shown that individual liberty works toward the highest patriotism. In the old French and Spanish wars, in the struggles with Great Britain, in our tremendous civil war, Rhode Island, notwithstanding her strong Quaker heredity, was ever at the front.

Massachusetts has led in education and in a political development, which finally shattered her narrow religious ideals. Connecticut built up the home with unrivalled thrift, and stimulated the inventive powers of the individual, until her mechanical triumphs were scattered over the world. Meanwhile, least in extent, greatest in spirit, Rhode Island kept her precious freedom for the soul. Property was secured; life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness moved forward as steadily as in any part of the world. In commerce and manufacture, the little colony and state has kept even pace with the country at large. In relative population and wealth, in all kinds of industrial organization¹ it has equalled at least any portion of the United States. Where is Mr. Quincy's anarchy?

A German scholar, who spoke for the whole world, said of the early development of Rhode Island, "These institutions have not only maintained themselves here [in R. I.] but have spread over the whole union."² The spirit of the individual man must be responsible only to the Creator of that spirit, except in "civil things"; in these things material interests reside, and here only political organization finds its proper activities. The War-Lord of Germany, the Czar of all the Russias may not entertain such a simple, civilizing principle, but Catholic and Protestant Christians, Jews and Mohammedans have enjoyed ample freedom under it. Established in Rhode Island, it grew to marvellous proportions, not by breeding anarchy, but by encouraging that larger idea, the true American liberty, which spread at last from ocean to ocean.

¹ By the census of manufacturing in 1900, R. I. had the largest proportion of wage earners relative to the population; Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire followed in the order named. ² Gervinus, 'History of Nineteenth Century,' p. 86.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith presents his annual report, showing the receipts and expenditures for the year ending October 6, 1902.

There has been carried to the several funds for the past year six per cent. on the amount of same, October 1, 1901, leaving a balance to the credit of the Income Account of \$523.74.

By a vote of the Council the sum of \$1,000 was appropriated, to be expended at the discretion of the Committee of Publication for the purpose of "the production of a comprehensive guide to the material for American history in the public repositories in London, especially to the manuscript material." This work has begun under the direction of our associate, Prof. J. F. Jameson of Chicago, and the sum of \$278.50 has been used from the appropriation.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 6, 1902, was \$148,101.46. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

| | |
|--|--------------|
| The Librarian's and General Fund, | \$37,537.85 |
| The Collection and Research Fund, | 17,198.89 |
| The Bookbinding Fund, | 6,921.07 |
| The Publishing Fund, | 29,480.55 |
| The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund, . . | 12,062.47 |
| The Lincoln Legacy Fund, | 5,686.56 |
| The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund, . . | 1,141.18 |
| The Salisbury Building Fund, | 5,088.62 |
| The Alden Fund, | 1,000.00 |
| The Tenney Fund, | 5,000.00 |
| The Haven Fund, | 1,555.61 |
| The George Chandler Fund, | 492.39 |
| The Francis H. Dewey Fund, | 4,047.41 |
| The George E. Ellis Fund, | 14,515.94 |
| The John and Eliza Davis Fund, | 8,227.94 |
| The Life Membership Fund, | 2,150.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$146,995.98 |
| Income Account, | 581.74 |
| Premium Account, | 523.74 |
| | <hr/> |
| | \$148,101.46 |

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$4,746.89.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the year ending October 6, 1902, is as follows :

DR.

| | |
|---|-------------|
| 1901. Oct. 10. Balance of cash per last report, | \$2,510.85 |
| 1902. " 6. Income from investments to date, | 7,936.88 |
| " " Received for annual assessments, | 230.00 |
| " " From sale of publications, | 26.00 |
| " " From premiums on Nat. Bk. Stk., | 207.00 |
| " " From sale of bonds, | 11,000.00 |
| " " Premium on bonds sold, | 1,045.00 |
| | <hr/> |
| Total, | \$22,955.73 |

CR.

| | |
|---|------------|
| By salaries to October 1, 1902, | \$3,655.09 |
| Publication of Proceedings, etc. | 1,004.44 |
| Books purchased, | 259.60 |
| For binding, | 288.10 |
| For heating, | 294.90 |
| Repairs and improvements, | 580.85 |
| Lighting and incidentals, | 307.16 |
| Insurance, | 340.00 |
| Invested in Stocks, | 10,098.45 |
| Premium on Stock, | 1,064.50 |
| Special investigations, | 278.50 |
| Deposited in Savings Banks, | 42.25 |

 \$18,208.84

 Balance of cash October 6, 1902, 4,746.89

 \$22,955.73

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Balance of Fund, October 10, 1901, | \$38,153.80 |
| Income to October 6, 1902, | 2,289.10 |
| Transferred from Tenney Fund, | 300.00 |
| " " Alden Fund, | 60.00 |
| From Life Membership Fund, | 129.00 |

 \$40,981.90

 Paid for salaries and incidental expenses, . . . 3,394.05

Balance October 6, 1902, \$37,537.85

The Collection and Research Fund.

| | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Balance October 10, 1901, | \$17,395.37 |
| Income to October 6, 1902, | 1,043.72 |

 \$18,439.09

 Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and
 incidentals, 1,245.70

 Balance October 6, 1902, \$17,193.39

 Carried forward, \$54,731.24

Brought forward, . . . \$54,781.24

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$6,801.11
Income to October 6, 1902, 408.06

\$7,209.17

Paid for binding, etc., 288.10

Balance October 6, 1902, \$6,921.07

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$28,697.16
Income to October 6, 1902, 1,721.83
Publications sold, 3.00
Baldwin Diary sold, 13.00

\$30,434.99

Paid on account of publications, 1,004.44

Balance October 6, 1902, \$29,430.55

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$11,407.59
Income to October 6, 1902, 684.43

\$12,092.02

Paid for books purchased, 29.55

Balance October 6, 1902, \$12,062.47

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$5,627.43
Income to October 6, 1902, 337.63

\$5,965.06

Paid for investigations, 278.50

Balance October 6, 1902, \$5,686.56

The Benjamin F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$1,146.56
Income to October 6, 1902, 68.99

\$1,215.55

Paid for local histories, 74.37

Balance October 6, 1902, \$1,141.18

Carried forward, \$109,978.07

Brought forward, . . . \$109,973.07

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$5,283.98

Income to October 6, 1902, 317.04

\$5,600.97

Paid for repairs, etc., 567.35

Balance October 6, 1902, \$5,033.62

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$1,000.00

Income to October 6, 1902, 60.00

\$1,060.00

Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . 60.00

Balance October 6, 1902, \$1,000.00

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$5,000.00

Income to October 6, 1902, 300.00

\$5,300.00

Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . 300.00

Balance October 6, 1902, \$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$1,470.86

Income to October 6, 1902, 88.28

\$1,559.09

Paid for books, 3.48

Balance October 6, 1902, \$1,555.61

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 10, 1901, \$480.60

Income to October 6, 1902, 38.84

\$519.44

Paid for books, 27.05

Balance October 6, 1902, \$492.39

Carried forward, \$128,054.69

Brought forward, . . . \$128,054.69

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------|------------|
| Balance October 10, 1901, | \$3,826.81 | |
| Income to October 6, 1902, | 229.60 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| | \$4,056.41 | |
| Paid for books, | 9.00 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance October 6, 1902, | | \$4,047.41 |

The George E. Ellis Fund.

| | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Balance October 10, 1901, | \$18,715.51 | |
| Income to October 6, 1902, | 822.98 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| | \$14,538.44 | |
| Paid for books, | 22.50 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance October 6, 1902, | | \$14,515.94 |

The John and Eliza Davis Fund.

| | | |
|--|------------|------------|
| Amount of Fund, October, 1901, | \$3,106.12 | |
| Income to October 6, 1902, | 186.37 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| | \$3,292.49 | |
| Paid for books, | 64.55 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance October 6, 1902, | | \$3,227.94 |

The Life Membership Fund.

| | | |
|--|------------|--------------|
| Balance October 10, 1901, | \$2,150.00 | |
| Income to October 6, 1902, | 129.00 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| | \$2,279.00 | |
| Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund, . | 129.00 | |
| | | <hr/> |
| Balance October 6, 1902, | | \$2,150.00 |
| | | <hr/> |
| Total of the sixteen funds | | \$146,995.98 |
| Balance to the credit of Income Account, . . . | | 581.74 |
| " " " " Premium Account, . . . | | 528.74 |
| | | <hr/> |
| October 6, 1902, total, | | \$148,101.46 |

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

| No. of Shares. | STOCKS. | Amount Invested. | Par Value. | Market Value. |
|--------------------------|---|---------------------|---------------|------------------|
| 11 | Central National Bank, Worcester, | 1,100.00 | \$1,100.00 | \$1,210.00 |
| 11 | City National Bank, Worcester, . | 1,100.00 | 1,100.00 | 1,275.00 |
| 10 | Citizens National Bank, Worcester, | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,400.00 |
| 6 | Fitchburg National Bank, | 600.00 | 600.00 | 900.00 |
| 5 | Massachusetts Nat. Bank, Boston, | 500.00 | 500.00 | 645.00 |
| 32 | Nat. Bank of Commerce, Boston, | 3,200.00 | 3,200.00 | 4,800.00 |
| 8 | Old Boston Nat. Bank, Boston, . . | 800.00 | 800.00 | 839.00 |
| 24 | Quinsigamond Nat. Bank, Worc., | 2,400.00 | 2,400.00 | 3,120.00 |
| 22 | Webster National Bank, Boston, . | 2,200.00 | 2,200.00 | 2,680.00 |
| 16 | Worcester National Bank, | 1,600.00 | 1,600.00 | 2,880.00 |
| Total of Bank Stock, . . | | \$14,000.00 | \$14,000.00 | \$19,249.00 |
| 50 | Fitchburg R. R. Co., Stock, . . . | \$5,000.00 | \$5,000.00 | \$7,240.00 |
| 30 | Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co., Stock, | 3,000.00 | 3,000.00 | 5,100.00 |
| 7 | Worcester Gas Light Co., " . . . | 700.00 | 700.00 | 1,680.00 |
| 25 | West End St. Ry. Co. (Pfd.) " . . | 1,250.00 | 1,250.00 | 2,800.00 |
| 50 | N. Y., N. Haven & Hart. R. R., " . | 8,492.61 | 5,000.00 | 11,250.00 |
| 100 | Worc. Ry. & Investment Co., " . . | 10,000.00 | 10,000.00 | 10,700.00 |
| 10 | Boston Tow Boat Co., " . | 1,000.00 | 1,000.00 | 1,500.00 |
| | | \$43,442.61 | \$39,950.00 | \$59,519.00 |
| BONDS. | | | | |
| | Kan. City, Ft. Sc. & Gulf R. R., Bonds, | \$3,800.00 | \$3,800.00 | \$3,600.00 |
| | Atchison, Tope. & Santa Fé R. R. Co., | 3,125.00 | 3,950.00 | 3,900.00 |
| | Chicago & East. Ill. R. R. 5 per cent., | 10,000.00 | 10,000.00 | 12,300.00 |
| | City of Quincy Water Bonds, | 4,000.00 | 4,000.00 | 4,000.00 |
| | Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago, . . . | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 |
| | Lowell, Lawr. & Haverhill St. Ry. Co., | 9,620.00 | 10,000.00 | 10,500.00 |
| | Worcester & Marlborough St. Ry. Co., | 3,000.00 | 3,000.00 | 3,150.00 |
| | Wilkesbarre & Eastern R. R. Co., . . | 2,000.00 | 2,000.00 | 2,280.00 |
| | Ellicott Square Co., Buffalo, | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 5,300.00 |
| | Louisville & Nashville R. R., | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 | 5,000.00 |
| | Worcester & Webster St. Ry. Co., . . | 2,000.00 | 2,000.00 | 2,200.00 |
| | American Telephone & Telegraph Co., | 7,000.00 | 7,000.00 | 6,875.00 |
| | Crompton & Knowles Loom Works, . . | 4,000.00 | 4,000.00 | 4,000.00 |
| | Notes secured by mort. of real estate, | 36,450.00 | 36,450.00 | 36,450.00 |
| | | \$142,937.61 | \$140,650.00 | \$164,074.00 |
| | Deposited in Worcester savings banks, | 416.96 | 416.96 | 416.96 |
| | Cash in National Bank on interest, . . | 4,746.89 | 4,746.89 | 4,746.89 |
| | | \$148,101.46 | \$145,813.85 | \$169,237.85 |

WORCESTER, Mass., October 6, 1902.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 6, 1902, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

A. G. BULLOCK.

BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL.

October 6, 1902.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE fortieth report of your librarian follows lines laid down in his first. A few library notes with brief statistics, acknowledgments of gifts of special value or interest, with the lessons they convey, and occasional suggestions born of library experience,—these seem to answer the purpose of the semi-annual reports.

Bound volumes of Proceedings XIV. New Series are now ready for delivery to those who prefer the Society's binding.

We are interested in the recent establishing of a "Library Clearing House" in Chicago and trust that its practical working may help to solve the library problem of "The Best Use of Duplicates." Under this title your librarian read a brief paper, September 9, 1885, at the Lake George Conference of the American Library Association. The liberal policy relating thereto which the Library Committee has encouraged, has surely brought liberal returns to this storehouse of American history. It may be added that we have been pioneers in the re-distribution of documentary matter issued by municipalities, states and the nation.

A critical examination of the tankard bequeathed to the Society in 1843 by Hon. William Winthrop has recently been made by Mr. J. H. Buck, an expert, who thus describes it: "Jug. Height 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches of brown mottled stoneware, mounted in silver gilt as a tankard. It is enclosed with a neckband, the cover engraved with the Fall of Adam; the purchase is of conventional ornament; the foot enriched with an upright band of strawberry

leaves. There are no marks, but it has the appearance of having been made about 1590." As the manuscript vouchers which accompanied the tankard are even now not easily deciphered they are printed herewith :

1. "At y^e feast of S^t Michael An^o 1607 my sister y^e Lady Mildmay did give me a Stone pott tipped and covered with a Silver Lydd. The above memorandum was taken out of my Great Grandfather Mr. Adam Winthrop his Notes & given me Oct. 13th 1707 by my Cousin John Winthrop relating to the Stone pott given him by his Sister one hundred years ago, which is now in my possession. Adam Winthrop | the Son of Adam | the Son of Adam | the Son of John | Governor of Massachusetts | the Son of above n^d Adam | to whom the pot was at | first given."

2. "Be it remembered that the '*Stone pot tipt and Covered with a Silver Lid,*' descended to me upon the death of my Father in 1779; and that it has, on this twenty ninth day of September 1807, (being the Feast of St. Michael) been Two Hundred years in the family, and is now in my possession. William Winthrop | the Son of John, | the Son of Adam, the Son of Adam, | the Son of Adam, | the Son of John (Governor | of Massachusetts), | the Son of Adam, to | whom the Pot was at | first given."

In this connection Mr. Buck says: "The Standing CUP belonging to the First Church Boston, with the London hall-mark for 1610, was given by Governor Jno. Winthrop."

In the librarian's report read ten years ago today, reference was made to the poor quality of much of the paper then in use. Under the title "Paper of Today" Rev. Dr. Hale reprinted these notes in his *Boston Commonwealth* of December 17, 1892. Our later observation and experience confirm the judgment then expressed. It would seem to be the bounden duty of learned societies which not only keep but make books, to encourage such chemical research as shall secure to us for all time, if possible,

the preservation of at least the best literature of our day. The claim of permanence made by the great manufacturers of wood pulp paper does not appear to be well founded. The problem is one which we may hope the modern student of applied, mercantile chemistry, will successfully solve.

The doctrine of protection still prevails in most of the libraries of our land. In the Providence Public Library respect for the bound files of newspapers is encouraged by the use of the following

NOTICE.

Readers are earnestly requested to use especial care in closing these volumes, in order to avoid the permanent folding over or creasing of the pages.

Any damage of this kind, already done, as well as any missing pages, should be at once reported at the Delivery Desk, so that it may be remedied as promptly as possible.

WILLIAM E. FOSTER,

LIBRARIAN.

Library service rendered often brings a quick return, as witness the following biographical contribution :

298 Commonwealth Avenue,
Boston, Massachusetts,

20 May, 1902.

Dear Mr. Barton :—Many thanks for your help in the William-Price view of Boston. Clearly he is one of our forgotten worthies ; as clearly he set up our first church organ, at King's Chapel, and played it (Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*) in 1714.

By 1722 we have his advertisement as our first map and printseller (2 *Boston Memorial History* 531) ; by 1725 he sold and afterward controlled the plate of the beautiful Bonner map, which he issued often and as late as 1769 with such modifications as the plate would bear and local engravers could manage.

In 1726 he issued the Harvard view, which appears to have been engraved here, and in that case is our first considerable landscape engraving done by home talent, though the Bonner map, engraved by Francis Dewing, 1722, is

our first considerable copperplate. (See S. A. Green's recent facsimiles.)

The Boston view was drawn for Price in 1723; it was engraved in England by John Harris, the most suitable man for such architectural work, and on sale here in 1725. It was published from time to time, the plate being modified (our Public Library has a damaged copy marked 1743) to keep up with the times.

William Price dealt in prints and maps, also in music, musical instruments, toys, artistic furniture, mirrors, frames, optical instruments, china, oil paintings, etc. He was our first art dealer.

He helped to establish and build Christ Church and Trinity, and was an officer and pewholder in each, also in King's Chapel. In 1727 he married the niece of Samuel Myles, rector of King's Chapel and the rector's heiress. He kept shop for some fifty years at 219 Washington Street, where Thompson's Spa is, and in 1736 bought the estate along the south side of Court Avenue, from Washington Street to Court Square.

He died 17 May, 1771 [*sic*], leaving a good estate to support his widow and nieces during their lives, after which it was to go for church work. Trinity still maintains the Price Lectures in Lent (sometimes called half-price lectures, because each of the eight sermons is paid forty shillings). The estate is held by Trinity, but the net profit is divided with King's Chapel, and amounts to about \$25,000 a year.

On the law aspect of the trust I know nothing better than our Supreme Court decision in the 9 Allen, q. v. The fact is, Price made a will contemplating the impossible (either he was senile, or obstinate in making such a will), and no law court can decide how far such a will may be violated. Men of the world must agree about spoils, or lose them. Price expected the King to remain in power here, and his will treats the Church of England and our Protestant Episcopal church as one. In law, they are not one.

When Faneuil died, Price caused his portrait by Smibert to be placed in Faneuil Hall. He was intimate with the Pelhams, the Copleys, and the Myles family. He is the father of fine art in Boston. He was devout, sincere, active, and apparently the most eminent layman connected

with the Episcopal Church here before the Revolution. The Boston view, you will notice, was mainly architectural, Price setting out to show how our buildings looked, especially those in which he was concerned. Notice the three Episcopal churches.

It is so very easy to dissent from the Prices and the Mathers. The market has been glad to pay what they asked or very much more. A good copy of the Price views is easily worth \$1,000. I have no knowledge of a copy of his Boston view published in 1725. How many men of today will leave so good a name, so fragrant a memory, so rich a bequest, and so memorable an achievement?

Very truly yours,

C. W. ERNST.

As statements of what we *need* or what we *have* of certain serials have helped to complete sets, such lists will from time to time appear in the librarian's reports. Of Massachusetts election sermons—the last of which was delivered January 2, 1884—we have 1661, 1663, 1667, 1678 imperfect, 1670, 1701 imperfect, 1703, 1705, 1706, 1714, 1715, 1716, 1718, 1719, 1720 and 1722 to 1884 inclusive. It is understood that no sermon was delivered in 1752 on account of the prevalence of smallpox and that none was printed in 1775.

The library statistics for the six months ending the 15th instant show that gifts have been received from two hundred and eighty-four sources, namely: from thirty-one members, one hundred and twelve persons not members and one hundred and forty-one societies and institutions. From them the library has received eleven hundred and sixty-six books, six thousand and sixty-six pamphlets, one hundred and six bound and one hundred and thirty-five unbound volumes of newspapers, eleven broadsides, seven book-plates, five engravings, four photographs, four maps, two manuscripts and a plaster cast. We have received by exchange eighteen books, six pamphlets and one manuscript; and from the bindery thirty-

two volumes of magazines and six of newspapers; a total of twelve hundred and sixteen books, six thousand and seventy-two pamphlets, one hundred and fourteen bound and one hundred and thirty-five unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

Two of Vice-President Hoar's gifts should receive special mention. The first is referred to in the following letter:

Worcester, Mass., June 30, 1902.

My dear Sir:

I have sent this morning to the American Antiquarian Society a considerable number of books, clippings from newspapers, pamphlets bound and unbound, and other material relating to the Philippine Islands. I wish to retain the ownership of all these, and to have the right to recall any of them that I may choose any time during my life. It is not likely that I shall ever exercise this right. Such of them as I do not remove during my life are to be the property of the Society. I think you will find that they constitute a valuable and quite complete collection of material on this important subject. I inclose a copy of this letter. Please return the copy with a statement that you understand the arrangement as above set forth.

I am, Faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq.

Librarian American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.

On the day of receipt the duplicate letter was returned with the endorsement; "30 June, 1902. Received this day the collection named herein, which will be held according to the desire of Hon. George F. Hoar, the depositor. Edmund M. Barton, Librarian American Antiquarian Society." The second reference is to a plaster cast from the tablet recently erected in Washington to the memory of Vice-President Wilson. The inscription, which is by Mr. Hoar, reads: "In this room | Henry Wilson | Vice-President of the United States | and

a Senator for eighteen years | Died November 22, 1875,
| The son of a farm laborer, never at | school more than
twelve months, in | Youth a journeyman shoemaker, he |
raised himself to the high places of | fame, honor and
power, and by unwearied | study made himself an author-
ity in the | history of his country and of liberty | and an
eloquent public speaker to | whom Senate and People
eagerly | listened. He dealt with and controlled | vast
public expenditures during a great | Civil War, yet lived
and died poor, and | left to his grateful countrymen the
| memory of an honorable public service, | and a good
name far better than riches."

Mr. Nathaniel Paine completes today forty years of faithful service as Treasurer of this Society. He has also served for twenty-two years on the Committee of Publication and for twenty-one years—with our honored President—as a member of the Committee on the Library. Attention is called to the admirable portrait of Mr. Paine which he has given to the Society.

We are reminded by Mr. William A. Smith's gift of a fine copy of Gilchrist's "Life and Times of William Blake," that during his thirty-five years' membership he has frequently made such transfers from his own library to that of the Society.

Dr. Alexander F. Chamberlain has made a noteworthy contribution of his linguistic and folk-lore publications, and Mrs. Charles W. Smith and Dr. Merrick Bemis generous additions of a miscellaneous character.

Mrs. Francis H. Dewey sends us the rare volume of photographs of "Citizens of Worcester Past and Present," in which the names of nearly five hundred men are duly listed; and a second volume containing photographs of members of the Massachusetts Senate of 1869, in which and on which no names appear. Judge Dewey's associate in the Senate of '69—Hon. George H. Monroe—and State Librarian C. B. Tillinghast have aided your

librarian in his quest, but the work is not yet completed. The moral is obvious.

Mrs. Ellen A. Stone has allowed us to select from her collection of early text-books to enrich our own. For this gift we are no doubt indebted to some friend's kind suggestion, as well as to many another known and unknown adviser for like favors.

The following need no introduction :

Springfield, Illinois, Apl. 21, 1902.

EDMUND M. BARTON, Esq., Libn. American Ant. Society.

My Dear Sir :

I recently sent you a deed, or bill of sale, to one William Holmes, issued to his wife the purchaser of the said "chattel." I herewith enclose a duly certified copy of a deed of manumission, which also contains an "abstract of title," issued to the said wife, Amanda Holmes—several years prior to the date when she purchased her said husband.

The two papers, taken together, will serve to illustrate the working of that "*institution*" to eradicate which cost the lives of 1,000,000 of men, and millions of money, and which in God's own time was overthrown & our native land made in fact, as well as in name, the *Home of the Free*.

I am very truly yours,

EDWIN SAWYER WALKER.

Be it known unto all whom it may concern that I William G. Eliot, Jr., of the City and County of St. Louis in the State of Missouri, in consideration of good and sufficient reasons do this day manumit and make free my Servant Amanda Holmes, coloured woman, formerly owned by Capt Crossman of the United States army and by him sold to N. Paschall of the City of St. Louis, from whom I purchased her for the term of her life: and by this act of manumission I do make her a free woman, with all the rights and privileges which can belong to her as such under the Laws of the State of Missouri.

In testimony of which I here affix my hand & seal this seventh day of July A. D. 1845.

WILLIAM G. ELLIOT JR.

Seal

In the St. Louis Circuit Court—April Term 1845

Monday July 7th 1845

State of Missouri, }
County of St. Louis } ss.

Be it remembered that on this Seventh day of July Eighteen hundred and forty-five comes into Court here William G. Eliot Junior, who is known to the Court to be the real person whose name is subscribed to the foregoing deed of manumission and he acknowledged the same to be his act and deed, hand and seal for the purposes therein expressed, which said acknowledgment is entered on the records of the Court of that day.

Seal

In testimony whereof, I, John Ruland Clerk of said Court, hereto set my hand and affix the seal of said Court, at office, in the City of St. Louis the day & year last aforesaid.

JN^o RULAND Clerk.

The Worcester Gazette Company before moving into new quarters, thoughtfully gave us ninety-nine bound volumes of *The Worcester Transcript*, *The Ægis and Transcript*, *The Ægis and Gazette* and *The Worcester Evening Gazette*. *The National Ægis* and *The Worcester Transcript* were absorbed by the *Gazette*. This large gift will not only help to complete our files, but will release to the National Library, or to the local historical society, duplicate volumes, which are more or less complete.

The special book funds have been carefully kept for unusual opportunities of purchase. Thus the Benjamin F. Thomas local history fund and the John and Eliza Davis civil war fund have yielded excellent returns. The George Chandler fund for the department of family history, which supplies perhaps the highest priced books we secure, is still the smallest fund of the class mentioned.

We have received from the American-Irish Historical Society a copy of "The Irish Scots and the Scotch-Irish," by Hon. John C. Linehan. It recalls the paper of Mr. Samuel S. Green on "The Scotch-Irish of America," read at our April meeting in 1895. Mr. Linehan thus kindly

refers to its author: "During a correspondence, a few years ago, between Mr. Murray and Mr. Samuel Swett Green, of Worcester, Mass., Mr. Green thus manfully wrote: 'In regard to the use of the term Scotch-Irish, I did not realize that I should give offence by employing it, and I probably should have used some other designation to convey my meaning rather than irritate bodies of men whom I respect. I used the word, however, only in a descriptive sense, just as I sometimes use the term Afro-American and Swedish-American. I entirely agree with Mr. Murray that generally speaking, it is best not to use words which show the differences of the inhabitants of a country rather than the things which they hold in common. For example, it is better to speak generally of Americans, rather than Irish-Americans or French-Americans.'"

The Club of Odd Volumes has presented a copy of the limited edition of "The Triumphs of Early Printing," by its President, Mr. James F. Hunnewell. By invitation of our associates, Messrs. Hunnewell and Paine, it was my privilege and pleasure to speak to the Club of our collection of early newspapers. It was upon an evening which was devoted to the general subject of the American newspaper, past and present.

The Minnesota Historical Society has completed our set of their publications, upon the suggestion of Mr. Henry P. Upham; and the elaborate Register of Members and Ancestors of the Minnesota Society of Colonial Wars has been forwarded by that body at his request. The habit of some of our friends not only to send us their own productions but to recommend the practice to others, is strongly approved.

The appeal of the International Press Clubs for a contribution of duplicate literature to the Journalists' Home Library was promptly answered. It was thought peculiarly fitting that the Society whose founder was the patriot printer and journalist as well as the author of the "History

of Printing in America," should thus show its interest. The chairman and treasurer extends thanks for the gift and coöperation, and expresses the hope that his Society may at some future time be able to reciprocate the courtesy.

It will be remembered that Levi Lincoln and his son Levi were charter members of this time-honored Society. A brief reference to the latter—our first treasurer, a faithful councillor and life-long friend—was recently discovered in Mr. William F. De Wolf's "Recollections of Public Men," a paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, November 15, 1881. It seems well to recover and reprint some such contemporary expressions of regard that they may be readily accessible for use at our Centennial Celebration in 1912. The paragraphs follow :

LEVI LINCOLN OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"Governor Lincoln was a noble man, the son and brother of such men as Massachusetts and Maine, in the olden time, chose for the highest officials. Like the Adamses, his descendants look back through a long line of illustrious ancestry. Of him it might be said in the words of Dryden, 'His tribe were God Almighty's gentlemen.' His home was the abode of genuine hospitality, made lovely by all the enduring charms of true refinement. I shall never forget the time when I once saw him on horseback in company with General Jackson and his cabinet, reviewing sixty thousand troops on Boston Common. Among many of the best appearing men in the Nation, he rode the peer of the best. * * * At the time I saw him on Boston Common, surrounded as he was, passing through an immense throng of his admiring citizens, he reminded me of the description given by Shakespeare of Bolingbroke's entrance into London :

'Whilst he, from one side to the other, turning,
Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed's neck,
Bespake them thus,—I thank you countrymen :
And this still doing, thus he pass'd along."

I have been asked to print in the body of this report the following very rare circular which accompanied a

Society report of October, 1821, by Rejoice Newton and Samuel Jennison :

(CIRCULAR.)

SIR,

HEREWITH you will receive a Report on the state of THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, made at the Annual Meeting in October last. The facts it discloses, it is presumed you will be gratified to learn, as they evince its respectable standing and condition. But to communicate this, is not the only motive for addressing you on the present occasion.

It is now nearly a year since the Society published the first volume of its Transactions and Collections. This it was enabled to do, by the liberality of the President. No aid was previously solicited, and no pledge was asked from its friends that they would afterwards contribute, by purchasing the work, towards a remuneration for the expense. It was sent into the world, relying on its intrinsic merits for a favourable reception, not only from the students of science, and the labourers in the field of Antiquarian research, but from the enlightened and discriminating among the more able patrons of literature. With regard to its reception in a literary point of view, the Society has reason for self-congratulation. It has been respectfully noticed, not only in America, but in Europe; and we hope has contributed to elevate the reputation of our country in distant nations, and to gratify the curiosity, and to excite the inquiries of some of the most illustrious among the learned of the age. Notwithstanding which, but few copies have been sold; and, extensively as it has been circulated, it has gained no other recompense to the publishers, than the honour of having contributed to the general stock of valuable information. It is still desirable that the Society should continue its Publications, as materials shall be collected. It is unnecessary to offer any arguments to shew the utility of such a course as respects the interests of the Society, independent of any advantages which may be supposed to arise from it to the cause of science; for it is obviously of little importance to collect facts and opinions, however valuable, relating to the subjects which fall within

its scope, unless the public are made acquainted with them : while the inducement to communicate may reasonably be presumed to be increased, as the prospect of usefulness, and the chance of sharing the well-earned rewards of honourable exertion are more clear and distinct.

It is from these considerations that the Members of the Publishing Committee, resident in the town of Worcester, have been appointed a Committee for the purpose of preparing and addressing to you the annexed Proposal, and to solicit your subscription, and that of such of your friends as may be disposed to unite with you.

The Committee improve this occasion, in behalf of the Government, again to request of you, also, such aid as from time to time you may have it in your power to afford, by donations of Articles for preservation in the Library and Cabinet, together with such information as you may possess and obtain on those subjects which it is its object to elucidate.

It is requested that the names of Subscribers be forwarded to the Recording Secretary, at Worcester, by the first of June next.

AARON BANCROFT.
SAMUEL M. BURNSIDE.
SAMUEL JENNISON.
EDWARD D. BANGS.

PROPOSAL
FOR
CONTINUING THE PUBLICATION
OF THE
Transactions and Collections
OF THE
American Antiquarian Society.

THE work will be commenced as soon as sufficient encouragement is obtained, and continued at indefinite periods, as materials shall be collected.

It will be published in numbers, of such a size as may be conveniently formed into volumes corresponding with that already published.

The price will be at the rate of Three Dollars for 400 pages, including Engravings.

The Subscribers agree to receive and pay for the number of copies set against their names respectively.

The report to which reference is made consists of two pages, is signed by Rejoice Newton and Samuel Jennison, is dated October 23, 1821, and an edition of two hundred was reprinted without the circular at Cambridge in August, 1868. It appears in our "Partial Index and List" as "10. Report at the annual meeting October, 1821: by Rejoice Newton and Samuel Jennison. Circular in relation to publication of first volume of Transactions and Collections (*Archæologia Americana*), pp. 5, October, 1821." This entry is somewhat misleading. The title-page of Volume 1, *Archæologia Americana*, bears date 1820, and the Preface June, 1820. This appeal of 1821 therefore, was not for the publication of volume one, but of subsequent issues. In point of fact the appeal did not bear fruit until 1836, when Volume 2—perhaps the most valuable of the series—came from the University Press, Cambridge.

The forward movement of the Society is shown by comparing the present library privileges of the public with those of seventy years ago as indicated by the Council Records of October 11, 1832. There we find this entry: "Voted—That the rule of the Council in relation to visitors be amended so as to read—Visitors may be admitted on the personal introduction of a member of the Society or on producing a ticket of a member of the Council. Voted—That until further order of the Council visitors be admitted only between the hours of 11 and 12 o'clock of each day, except permitted at other hours by a special ticket of a member of the Council."

Ninety years ago the call to organize this Society appeared in the public press, and the galley slip was probably sent to the persons named:

American Society of Antiquaries.

WHEREAS by an Act of the Legislature of this Commonwealth, passed October 22, 1812, Isaiah Thomas, Levi Lincoln, H. G. Otis, Timothy Bigelow, Nathaniel Paine and Edward Bangs, Esqrs. J. T. Kirkland, D. D. Aaron Bancroft, D. D. William Paine, M. D. Jonathan H. Lyman, Elijah H. Mills, Elijah Hammond, Timothy Williams, William D. Peck, John Lowell, Edmund Dwight, Eleazer James, Josiah Quincy, William S. Shaw, Francis Blake, Levi Lincoln, jun. Samuel M. Burnside and Benjamin Russell, Esqrs. Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Redford Webster, Thomas Walcutt, Ebenezer T. Andrews, William Wells, and Isaiah Thomas, Jun. and such others as may associate with them for the purposes therein mentioned, were "formed into, and constituted a Society, and Body political and corporate, by the name of *The American Antiquarian Society*," for the purposes therein specified:

And whereas, by the fifth Section of said Act, the Undersigned is "authorised and empowered to notify and warn the first meeting of said Society," Therefore, in conformity thereto, he hereby notifies and warns each and every of the persons above named to meet, at the Exchange Coffee House in Boston, on Thursday the 19th day of November instant, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, then and there to take such measures as shall be necessary for organizing said Society, establishing such Rules and Regulations as shall be deemed expedient, "agree upon a method for calling future meetings," and to act upon any other matter or thing relating to the objects of said institution.

ISAIAH THOMAS.

Worcester, November 2, 1812.

The headline suggests the Society of Antiquaries of London.

At our annual meeting fifty years ago two notable names were added to our Council roll; namely, those of Rev. Edward E. Hale of Worcester and Hon. Charles Sumner of Boston. Mr. Hale had been on the Committee of Publication for several years previous to his election to the governing board. His personal recollections of the Society's past-masters should be preserved in some form, for the information and encouragement of our antiquarian brotherhood.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, LL.D., Lincoln.—His "Shall Cromwell have a Statue?"
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Three magazines, in continuation.
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—One pamphlet; and a photograph.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Forty books; and thirty-one pamphlets.
- CHAVERO, ALFREDO, Mexico.—His "La Piedra del Sol."
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—Three of his own publications.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Seventeen books; and twenty-four pamphlets.
- DEWEY, FRANCIS H., Worcester.—Newspaper clippings relating to the American Antiquarian Society.
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E., Litt.D., Providence, R. I.—His Report of 1901 as Librarian of the Providence Public Library.
- GAGE, THOMAS H., M.D., Worcester.—Bellamy's "Essay on the Nature and Glory of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," 8°, Worcester, 1793, printed by Isaiah Thomas.
- GILBERT, EDWARD H., Ware.—His "Early Grants and Incorporation of the Town of Ware"; and "Homes of the Massachusetts Ancestors of Maj. General Joseph Hooker."
- GREEN, HON. ANDREW H., *Chairman*, New York.—The Eighteenth Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara; and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society publications, as issued.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Two of his own publications; Suffolk Deeds, Liber XII.; Carey's 1803 quarto edition of the Bible; fifty-eight books; one hundred and forty-three pamphlets; seven book-plates; one proclamation; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His report as Librarian of the Free Public Library of Worcester, 1900-1901.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Savannah, Ga.—"History of the City Government of Savannah, 1790-1900," containing Mr. Harden's account of the Georgia Historical Society.

- HAYNES, GEORGE H., Ph.D., Worcester.—Seventeen books; and twenty-four pamphlets.
- HILL, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Two pamphlets; and numbers of the "Worcester Spy" and "Worcester Transcript," 1848-49.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Two hundred and thirty books; twenty-three hundred and twenty-five pamphlets; three scrap-books; two badges; a plaster cast; five volumes of bound newspapers; eight files of newspapers in continuation; twelve early pamphlets; eight broadsides; and two portraits.
- JENES, Rev. HENRY F., Canton.—"The Manifesto Church Records of the Church in Brattle Square, Boston, 1699-1872."
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., Paris, France.—"The Codex Fejérvary-Mayer."
- MATTHEWS, ALBERT, Boston.—Two of his own publications.
- MEAD, EDWIN D., Boston.—Two of his own publications; and numbers of the "Old South Leaflets."
- MERRIAM, JOHN M., Framingham.—"Memorial of the Bi-Centennial Celebration of the Incorporation of the Town of Framingham, Massachusetts, June, 1900."
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—"Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell," two vols., 8°, by Roger Bigelow Merriman.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Five books; one hundred and seventy-six pamphlets; a framed portrait of himself; six portraits; four lithographs; and four files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—"The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, *Principal*, Worcester.—Catalogue and circulars, 1902, of the Massachusetts State Normal School, Worcester.
- SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Twenty-three books; three hundred and fifteen pamphlets; and eight files of newspapers, in continuation.
- SMITH, WILLIAM A., Worcester.—Gilchrist's "Life and Times of William Blake, with Selections from his Poems and other Writings."
- WHITNEY, JAMES L., Cambridge.—His "Incidents in the History of the Boston Public Library."
- WRIGHT, CARROLL D., LL.D., *Commissioner*, Washington, D. C.—His Labor Report of 1901; and the "Labor Bulletin," as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ANDREWS, GIBSON C., Greeneville, Ga.—His "Study of Creation."
- APPLETON, D., AND COMPANY, New York.—"The Monthly Bulletin," as issued.
- ARCHITECTURAL RECORD COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Architectural Record."

- ATKINSON, EDWARD, LL.D., Brookline.—His "Cost of War and Warfare, 1898-1902."
- AVERY, ELROY, Cleveland, O.—"Avery Notes and Queries," as issued.
- BAKER AND TAYLOR COMPANY, New York.—"The Monthly Bulletin," as issued.
- BALCH, THOMAS W., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Charles Sumner and the Treaty of Washington."
- BARTON, E. BLAKE, Worcester.—"Pictorial History of the Schley Court of Inquiry."
- BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.
- BRADY, CHARLES C., Boston.—Numbers of "The Phonographic Magazine."
- BELLOWS, WILLIAM, Gloucester, England.—"Tribute to John Bellows."
- BEMIS, MERRICK, M.D., Worcester.—One hundred and twenty-six books; and nineteen hundred and seventy-eight pamphlets.
- BERRY, JOHN M., Millbury.—His "Righteous Indignation."
- BISHOP, HENRY F., New York.—"The Genealogy of Samuel and John Bishop."
- BLAKISTON'S SON & COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of "The Medical Book News."
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.
- BOSTON PSYCHIC PUBLISHING COMPANY.—"Psychic Power through Practical Psychology."
- BUCK, J. H., New York.—His "Old Plate, Ecclesiastical, Decorative and Domestic, Its Makers and Marks."
- BULLARD, Rev. HENRY, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.—Dr. Henry N. Bullard's "Origin of National Characteristics."
- BUTTERWORTH AND COMPANY, London, England.—Numbers of "The Law Book Review."
- CANFIELD, Miss PENELOPE W. S., Worcester.—One book; ten pamphlets; and "The Army and Navy Journal," in continuation.
- CARROLL, CLARENCE F., *Superintendent*, Worcester.—His Report of the Public Schools of Worcester, Mass., 1901.
- CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER F., Ph.D., Worcester.—Seventeen of his linguistic and folk-lore publications.
- CLEVELAND PRINTING & PUBLISHING COMPANY, Cleveland, O.—"The Imperial Press, a Critique."
- CONRAD, ARCTURUS Z., D.D., *Editor*, Worcester.—"The Old South Record," as issued.
- CORRY, DELORAINE P., Malden.—His "Memoir of John Ward Dean."
- CORNISH, LOUIS H., New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.

- CURRIER, FREDERICK A., Fitchburg.—His "Centennial Memorial of Aurora Lodge, A. F. and A. M., 1801-1901."
- DAYTON, HORACE H., Worcester.—Interior View of the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, in 1885.
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.
- DE LA ROCHELLE, P. G., Boston.—"La France," as issued.
- DEPEW, HON. CHAUNCEY M., New York.—His "Election of United States Senators by Direct Vote of the People."
- DEWEY, MRS. SARAH B., Worcester.—Photograph of members of the Massachusetts Senate, 1869; and of five hundred past and present citizens of Worcester, 1870.
- DODGE, JAMES H., *City Auditor*, Boston.—His Report, 1901-1902.
- DWIGHT, MELATIAH E., *Editor*, New York.—"The Alasko-Canadian Frontier."
- EELLS, REV. MYRON, D.D., Walla Walla, Wash.—His "Reply to Prof. Bourne's 'The Whitman Legend.'"
- EV'RY MONTH PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—"Ev'ry Month," as issued.
- FLETCHER, HON. EDWARD F., Worcester.—His Inaugural Address as Mayor of Worcester, January 6, 1902.
- FOLSOM, CAPT. ALBERT A., Boston.—The Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 1888-1889 and 1900-1901; and the sermon preached before the Company in 1830.
- GALLINGER, HON. JACOB H., Concord, N. H.—His "Scientific Testimony on Beer."
- GANONG, WILLIAM F., Northampton.—His "Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick."
- GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—"The Text Book Bulletin," as issued.
- GOLDEN RULE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Boston.—"The Christian Endeavor World," as issued.
- GREEN, C. R., Lyndon, Kansas.—His "Genealogical Data."
- GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—Seventy-two books; one hundred and thirty pamphlets; one atlas; and two maps.
- GREGSON, REV. JOHN, Wiscasset, Me.—Material relating to the centennial of Bowdoin College.
- HARRIMAN, REV. FREDERICK W., D.D., *Secretary*, Windsor, Conn.—Diocese of Connecticut Journal of Convention, 1902.
- HASSAM, JOHN T., Boston.—His "Registers of Probate for the County of Suffolk, Massachusetts, 1639-1799."
- HILLER, H. M., Philadelphia, Pa.—"Notes of a Trip to the Veddahs of Ceylon."

- HITCHCOCK, REV. EDWARD, LL.D., Amherst.—His "Physical Growth of Students During the Course at Amherst College."
- HITCHCOCK, MRS. HENRY, St. Louis, Mo.—Tribute to the late Henry Hitchcock, LL.D.
- HOLCOMBE, WM. FRED., M.D., New York.—One pamphlet.
- HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—One pamphlet.
- HOSHI, HAJIME, *Publisher*, New York.—"Japan and America," as issued.
- HOWE, MRS. JULIA WARD, Boston.—"Proceedings at the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, November 11, 1901."
- HUBBARD, ELBERT, East Aurora, N. Y.—Numbers of "The Philistine."
- INDEX PUBLISHING COMPANY, Bloomington, Ill.—Numbers of "The Quarterly Bibliography."
- JACK, DAVID R., St. John, N. B.—One pamphlet.
- JONES, ROBERT R., Cincinnati, O.—His "Fort Washington at Cincinnati."
- LIBRARY BUREAU, Boston.—One book.
- LONGMANS, GREEN AND COMPANY, New York.—"Notes on Books," as issued.
- MACMAHON, JOSEPH H., New York.—One pamphlet.
- MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—"Book Reviews"; and "The Monthly List," as issued.
- MAY, JOHN J., Boston.—His "Danforth Genealogy."
- MESSINGER COMPANY, Worcester.—"The Messenger," as issued.
- NEW YORK EVENING POST COMPANY.—"The Nation," as issued.
- PAINE, JAMES P., Worcester.—Parcels of English newspapers.
- PARKER, PRESCOTT A., Fairhope, Ala.—Eighty-four Farmers' Almanacs, 1798-1899.
- PELLET, ELLIS C., Worcester.—Seventeen books; and forty-four pamphlets.
- PENN PUBLISHING COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of the "Young Folks Magazine."
- PEPPER, GEORGE H., Washington, D. C.—His "Ancient Basket Makers of Southeastern Utah: Making of a Navajo Blanket."
- PHILLIPS, DAVID E., *Editor*, Columbus, O.—"Monumental Inscriptions in the Old Cemetery, Rutland, Massachusetts."
- POWELL, MRS. JOHN W., Washington, D. C.—Tribute to Major John W. Powell.
- PRICE, W. E., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of "The Book Lover."

- PUTNAM, REV. JOHN J., Worcester.—His "Petersham Lyceum," 1833-1848.
- REIMER, GEORG, Berlin, Germany.—Numbers of "Die Nation."
- RICE, BENJAMIN T., Worcester.—Four pamphlets.
- RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—"The Portland Board of Trade Review," as issued.
- ROBINSON, HON. CHARLES, Lawrence, Kansas.—Brown's "Reminiscences of Governor R. J. Walker."
- ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—One hundred and forty-five books; two hundred and ninety pamphlets; and four files of magazines, in continuation.
- ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—Ninety-four books; twenty-two pamphlets; and two files of newspapers, 1901-1902.
- ROE, HON. ALFRED S., Worcester.—One book; fifty-four pamphlets; eight manuscripts; and "The Christian Advocate," 1898-1902.
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—"The Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel," as issued.
- SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—Two books; and forty-six pamphlets.
- SHIPLEY, JOHN B., Geneva, Switzerland.—One pamphlet.
- SLAFTER, REV. EDMUND F., D.D., *Registrar*, Boston.—His Nineteenth Annual Report.
- SMITH, Mrs. CHARLES W., Worcester.—Three hundred and sixty-six books; fifty pamphlets; one badge; and sheet music.
- SMYTH, REV. G. HUTCHINSON, D.D., New York.—His "Life of Henry Bradley Plant."
- SOUTHWICK, Miss JEANIE L., Worcester.—Photograph of the survivors of the Greely Arctic Exploring Expedition in 1884.
- SPOONER, Mrs. JENNIE C., Barre.—"The Barre Gazette," as issued.
- STOECKEL, CARL, Norfolk, Conn.—"Correspondence of John Sedgwick," volume 1.
- TAFT, Mrs. CALVIN, Worcester.—Five early text books.
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY.—Files of the Worcester Daily and Sunday Telegram, in continuation.
- TODD, WILLIAM C., Boston.—His "Biographical and other Articles."
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—"The Groton Landmark," as issued.
- VAN WICKELL, WILLIAM P., *Secretary*, Washington, D. C.—Report of the Admiral Dewey Reception Committee.
- VINTON, REV. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.
- WALKER, EDWIN S., Springfield, Ill.—A manuscript Deed of Emancipation, 1845; and one pamphlet.

- WELLS, WILLIAM B., *Editor*, Portland, Oregon.—Numbers of "The Pacific Monthly."
- WETHERED, FRANK M., Auburn.—Eleven Auburn town reports.
- WHITE, JAMES T., AND COMPANY, New York.—"The Life of William Cullen Bryant."
- WHITE, MRS. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—"The Journal of Zoöphily," as issued.
- WHITE & WARNER, Hartford, Conn.—"Trolley Trips Through Southern New England."
- WILSON, HENRY W., Minneapolis, Minn.—One pamphlet.
- WIRE, GEORGE E., M.D., Worcester.—Eight pamphlets.
- WORCESTER GAZETTE COMPANY.—Ninety-nine bound volumes of the "Worcester Transcript," "Ægis and Transcript," "Ægis and Gazette" and "Worcester Evening Gazette"; and the "Evening Gazette," as issued.
- WRIGHT, GEORGE L., Boylston.—One pamphlet.
- WYMAN, CHARLES F., Cambridge.—His "India Wharf, Boston, Fifty Years Ago."
- WYMAN, MRS. H. R., Boston.—Numbers of early Boston and Worcester newspapers.
- WYNNE, JOHN J., New York.—One pamphlet.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.—The Nineteenth Annual Report.
- AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—"The Baptist Missionary Magazine," as issued.
- AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN IRISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.—Memoirs of the Society, volumes 3 and 6.
- AMERICAN NUMISMATIC AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

- AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—"The Sailor's Magazine," as issued.
- AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.
- ANDOVER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The Catalogue of 1901-1902.
- APPALACHIAN NATIONAL PARK ASSOCIATION.—One pamphlet.
- AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- BELFAST FREE LIBRARY.—Report of 1902.
- BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—Library publications, as issued.
- BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.
- BOSTON, CITY OF.—City Documents, 1901, vols. 1-3.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
- BOSTON UNIVERSITY.—The Historical Register, 1869-1901.
- BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library Publications, as issued.
- BROWN UNIVERSITY.—Annual Report of the President, September 3, 1902.
- BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION.—Proceedings of the Association, June 17, 1902.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—The "Bulletin," as issued.
- CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CAMBRIDGE, CITY OF.—"Records of the Town of Cambridge (formerly Newtown), 1630-1703."
- CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
- CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester.—Eight books; one hundred and two pamphlets; and five files of newspapers, in continuation.
- CLARK UNIVERSITY, Worcester.—Courses of study, 1902, in collegiate department.
- CLUB OF ODD VOLUMES.—Hunnewell's "Triumphs of Early Printing."
- COL. TIMOTHY BIGELOW CHAPTER D. A. R., Worcester.—"List of the Soldiers of the War of the Revolution from Worcester, Massachusetts."
- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.—"The Political Science Quarterly," as issued.
- CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.—Four books; seven pamphlets; one map; and one proclamation.
- DAVENPORT ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

- ELIOT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- FAIRMOUNT COLLEGE.—“The College Bulletin,” June, 1902.
- FAIRMOUNT PARK ART ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, as issued.
- FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM.—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- FITCHBURG, CITY OF.—City Documents of 1901.
- GENERAL THEOLOGICAL LIBRARY.—The Fortieth Annual Report.
- GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- HARVARD COLLEGE CLASS OF 1867.—Reports, Numbers 7 and 11, to complete set.
- HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—Numbers of the University publications.
- HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Publications of the Seminary, as issued.
- HAVERHILL PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- HISTORICAL DEPARTMENT OF IOWA.—“Annals of Iowa,” as issued.
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- HISTORISCHER VEREIN DER OBERPFALZ UND REGENSBURG.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, Carlisle, Pa.—The Catalogue of 1902.
- JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- JOHN CRERAR LIBRARY, Chicago, Ill.—The Seventh Annual Report.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.
- KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS OF DELAWARE.—One pamphlet.
- LELAND STANFORD, JUNIOR, UNIVERSITY.—The Register for 1901-02.
- LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Publications of the Company, as issued.
- LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
- MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- MANCHESTER INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—“Nature Study,” as issued.
- MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Fund Publication, No. 37.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Sixteen volumes of State documents.

- MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.**—Report of the Board for 1901.
- MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.**—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS INFANT ASYLUM.**—The Thirty-fifth Annual Report.
- MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.**—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.**—Publications of the Board, as issued.
- METROPOLITAN WATER AND SEWERAGE BOARD [Mass.]**—The First Annual Report.
- MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Collections, vol. 2, to complete set; and publications of the Society, as issued.
- MINNESOTA SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS.**—The Register of Members and Ancestors, 1901.
- MINNESOTA VALLEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—One pamphlet.
- MUSEO NACIONAL DE MÉXICO.**—Publications of the Museum, as issued.
- NEWARK FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—The Thirteenth Annual Report.
- NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.**—Publications of the Academy, as issued.
- NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.**—"The Library Bulletin," as issued.
- NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.**—Fourteen volumes of New York State documents.
- OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- OREGON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.**—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- PARK COLLEGE.**—"The Park Review," as issued.
- PEABODY INSTITUTE OF BALTIMORE.**—The Thirty-fifth Annual Report; and the second catalogue of the library, Pt. 6.

- REFORM CLUB, New York.—"Sound Currency," as issued.
- REPUBLICA MEXICANA.—Six statistical reports of 1900.
- ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- ST. LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Report for 1901.
- SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—"The Library Bulletin," as issued.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Publications of the Institution, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ DES AMERICANISTES DE PARIS.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ D'ETHNOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—Bulletin of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Papers of the Society, vol. 29.
- SOUTHERN SCHOOL OF OSTEOPATHY, Franklin, Ky.—"The Southern Journal of Osteopathy," as issued.
- SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—"The Library Bulletin," as issued.
- STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- TEXAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- TOPSFIELD HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Collections of the Society, vols. 1, 3-7.
- TRANSALLEGHENY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- TRAVELER'S INSURANCE COMPANY.—"The Traveler's Record," as issued.
- UNITED STATES BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.
- UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—One book; and twenty-seven pamphlets.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Two books.

- UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.—Publications of the Board, as issued.
- UNITED STATES SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.—Eighty bound volumes; and one hundred and twenty-three pamphlets.
- UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—University publications, as issued.
- UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.—One pamphlet.
- UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.—Three University publications.
- UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI.—Publications of the University, as issued.
- UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—“Free Museum of Science and Art Bulletin,” as issued.
- UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO.—The University publications.
- UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT.—“The General Catalogue, 1791-1900.”
- VINELAND HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- W. P. I. CLASS OF 1902.—“The Aftermath, 1902.”
- WEST NEWBURY NATURAL HISTORY CLUB.—Publications of the Club, as issued.
- WEST VIRGINIA HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- WORCESTER ART MUSEUM.—The Annual Report, 1902.
- WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.
- WORCESTER COUNTY LAW LIBRARY.—Thirteen books; fifteen pamphlets; and “The Boston Daily Advertiser,” in continuation.
- WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Thirty pamphlets; and thirty files of newspapers, in continuation.
- WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Seventy books; five hundred and seventy-five pamphlets; ninety files of newspapers; two plans; and one map.
- WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- YALE UNIVERSITY.—Reports of the President and other officers, 1901-1902.
- YORK (ENGLAND) PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Ninth General Report.
- YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA.—“The Year Book for 1902.”

A FEW NOTES ON THE SHAYS REBELLION.

BY JOHN NOBLE.

THE story of this startling episode in Massachusetts history is in its general features well known. The causes that led to this rebellion are plainly apparent:—the conditions, public and private, prevailing in the State after the close of the Revolution,—the State burdened with an immense debt, its annual tax a million, the imposition of special taxes to meet current interest, its resources scanty, public credit impaired, indebted to its own soldiers,—a third or so of the whole patriot army,—more than half a million dollars, the condition of the currency affecting all interests, money scant, the present disturbed, the future uncertain, general unrest and uneasiness among a considerable part of its citizens, private embarrassments and difficulties even greater and more keenly felt, the debtor class increasing, debts piling up and means lessening, the relentless exactions of creditors, the persecutions of too many unscrupulous lawyers, the lower courts crowded with suits,—some two thousand pending at one time in a single county, consequent judgments numerous and oppressive, levies thereon distressing, the debtor willing it may be but helpless, the unwise enforcement of processes, too often the well-to-do made poor, and the poor made beggars, no stay law to protect, discontent and want and suffering in many quarters, grievances fancied as well as real stirring up the people, dissatisfaction magnifying present troubles and foreboding worse, complaints springing up about the courts, the lawyers, the fees, the salaries of officials, the Senate and even the Constitution of the

State, complaints in short of all sorts and kinds,—the ominous mutterings of the coming storm.

The outbreak,—occasional uprisings and disorders, the August Conventions, faith in legitimate methods of relief weakening, the rising and increase of the mob spirit, the growth of mistaken and blind notions of remedy, confounding effect with cause, popular passions too often, as will always be the case, played upon by demagogues, disorders, commotions, riots, occurring here and there,—the stopping of the courts,—the mustering in arms,—and finally the starting of an actual and open rebellion, limited but fierce;—later the counter movement of the Government,—the trial of pacific measures,—then, at last, driven to its only alternative,—the employment of the military, and the suppression of the rebellion by force of arms; the ensuing skirmishes and battles, and the final outcome of this single and singular event in Massachusetts history,—all these have been set out more or less fully in local town histories, in the histories of the State, in histories of the affair, in the collections of historical societies and in other quarters,—though sometimes the economic and industrial conditions of the time, with their natural operation and inevitable outcome, seem to have lacked full recognition and almost to have been lost sight of in the more exciting story of the violent collisions and the armed clash of the conflicting elements.

The judgment of posterity has been passed in one form or another upon the whole affair and the actors in it on either side, finding at least one common ground of concurrence,—that the event was a test and proof of the strength of popular government and of the character of the people that make up the Commonwealth.

One side of the Rebellion has perhaps been less generally known, and possibly there may be some matters of interest in the less conspicuous details of the affair, and in the shape in which it presents itself in the records of the

courts. So I have ventured to bring here today a few scattered bits, taken almost at random from the great mass of papers there preserved. One or two have been taken from the different classes of papers, the more important, as illustrative of the whole. These show, as is so often the case, the great amount of historical material lying in the records and files of court, of service not merely in the investigation of any particular cause in issue, and of legal proceedings and practice at any given time, but as well to the local historian, the antiquary, the genealogist, the delver into the conditions and circumstances of the past, and the student of jurisprudence.

The records of the Supreme Judicial Court sitting in the Counties of Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire, during this period, especially in the year 1787, are full of recorded cases upon indictments for treason, sedition, and variously designated offences connected with the rebellion ; and there are also some in Middlesex. In most of them the offenders are let off with fines more or less severe, upon their recognizances to keep the peace, and many are acquitted. The records of 1787 and the minute books of that year and the next, show some eighteen to have been convicted of treason and sentenced to death. These records indicate a trial with all the dignity, solemnity and impartial firmness, which have always characterized that court ;—and eminent and famous counsel were assigned by the court for the defence of the prisoners,—Simeon Strong and Caleb Strong in Hampshire ; Theodore Sedgwick and Caleb Strong in Berkshire ; James Sullivan and Levi Lincoln in Worcester ; and Christopher Gore and Thomas Dawes in Middlesex. Among the juries appear names of many well known and leading men of the time, some of which are repeated in those of distinguished men of today.

In Berkshire seven were convicted of high treason and sentenced to death :—Peter Wilcox, Jr., Nathaniel

Austin, Aaron Knapp, Enoch Tyler, Joseph Williams, Samuel Rust and William Manning; in Hampshire eight,—Jason Parmenter, Daniel Luddington, James White, Alpheus Colton, John Wheeler, Henry McCulloch, William Clark, Abiah Converse; and one more, Timothy Hinds, who had pleaded guilty, when brought in for sentence exhibited a pardon, which is spread upon the records, from the Governor, and is let go without day; one in Worcester, Henry Gale; one in Middlesex, Job Shattuck.

Besides the extended records of cases which went to final judgment, contained in the large and heavy volumes which make up what is strictly denominated Court Records, there are great numbers of individual papers, making what is called the Court Files, consisting of the original pleadings in the cases, exhibits, depositions, processes, verdicts, bills of costs, and all sorts of miscellaneous matter connected with and concerned in the cases, not only those recorded in full, but also those abandoned, discontinued, settled or otherwise disposed of, in which are often matters of peculiar interest and importance, bearing not only upon the causes themselves but also upon outside concerns and affairs.

Shays's Rebellion has its share of these. In the files for Worcester County there are indictments of some two hundred persons, from September, 1787, to April, 1789, for high treason, insurrection, riot, sedition, "seditious acts," "treasonable practices," "traitoursly assembling," and various offences connected therewith; and with these indictments are numerous papers, such as lists of jurors, of witnesses, bills of costs, fee-bills, sheriffs' returns of fines collected, recognizances, *etc.*, with some original letters used in evidence. Of the recognizances a hundred or more are in packages, endorsed "not to be carried forward," an indication of the beginning of the end of the Rebellion.

In Essex County there is a single indictment for sedition, and some other cases growing out of the Rebellion, to be referred to in another connection.

In Middlesex County are some fifteen or twenty indictments for treason and kindred offences.

In Hampshire County some two hundred persons were similarly indicted, and with these indictments are numerous papers of the character already mentioned. In the files of 1789 are some sixty indictments not further prosecuted or recorded, and in those of 1790 are some fifty more, including one indictment containing one hundred and fifteen names. Each indictment has often or usually more than a single name, sometimes many, and this is the case in all the counties.

In the files of the court for Hampshire and Berkshire jointly are indictments of some one hundred persons, in 1787, April and September. Among these come some with slightly different designations:—"Assisting insurgents," "rebellion," "riotously, routously and tumultuously assembling," "traitor," "traitorous conduct," *etc.* There are here over one hundred recognizances entered into by defendants who had availed themselves of the indemnity offered.

In the files for these western counties there are also printed proclamations of the Governor, and printed copies of Acts of the General Court, which were used and played their part in the legal proceedings, as shown by the various indorsements upon them.

The outcome of all these legal proceedings,—spread out upon the records of the courts or wrapped up in the multitudinous papers,—is well known. Formidable as they appear in numbers and character, the penal results to the offenders are not commensurate. Many of the criminals escape with fines, some collected, others not. Most took advantage later of the Acts of Indemnity and the Executive Proclamations, and, complying with the terms

imposed, came back as repentant sinners into the fold of citizenship. No head fell, no blood was shed in legal retribution. In some of the capital cases, occasionally, a touch of the dramatic appears in the conduct of the case and at its final wind-up.

Even the leaders, few in numbers, and for a while placed outside of the pale of the indemnifying acts and exempted by name from the terms of grace, were afterward pardoned.

The strength of the government had been shown, the solidity of its foundations demonstrated, justice, civil and political, had been vindicated, the loyalty of the great body of the Commonwealth proved, a judicious and politic clemency exercised, a rebellion ended,—and peace restored.

A threatening crisis in the history of the young Commonwealth was safely passed, and its lessons recorded and impressed for all time.

To illustrate this paper two of the extended records have been taken from the volumes of records, the one in Worcester, the case of Henry Gale, and the one in Middlesex, that of Job Shattuck.

An indictment for treason prosecuted to its conclusion is, happily, almost unique in American history. In these indictments of the rebellion there is a touch of the picturesque in their style, and the rattle of arms seems to stir up the dull uniformity and formality of legal precision; "*inter arma silent leges*," with due reservations. Their whole effect is most dignified and impressive.

To add here the sequel:—It appears from Governor Hancock's message of October 17, 1787, that on the 13th September he had "sealed a pardon" for these two, Henry Gale and Job Shattuck, together with Jason Parmenter and Henry McCulloch.

CASES OF GALE AND SHATTUCK.

COMLTH. V. GALE ET AL.

At the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts begun and holden at Worcester within and for the County of Worcester on the last Tuesday of April in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and eighty-seven by Adjournment by Writ to that time from the Tuesday next preceding the last Tuesday of the same April by Virtue of an Act of the General Court made in February last past.

The Jurors for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts upon their Oath present that Jacob Chamberlain of Dudley in the same County, Gentleman, Henry Gale of Princeton in the same County, Gentleman, Josiah Jennison junior of Spencer in the same County, yeoman, being members and Subjects of the Commonwealth aforesaid and owing allegiance to the same not having the fear of GOD in their hearts nor having any regard to the Duty of their allegiance but being moved and seduced by a lawless & Rebellious Spirit and withdrawing from the said Commonwealth that Cordial love and due obedience, fidelity and allegiance which every member of the same of right ought to bear to it and also most wickedly and traiterously devising and conspiring to levy war against this Commonwealth and thereby most wickedly and traiterously intending as much as in them lay to change and subvert the rule and Government of this Commonwealth duly and happily established by the good people the Inhabitants and Citizens of the same according to their Constitution and form of Government; and to reduce them to anarchy lawless power and Confusion upon the fifth day of September in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred and eighty-six and on divers other days and times as well before that time as since at Worcester within the said County of Worcester falsely and traiterously did devise and Conspire to levy War against this Commonwealth And then and there with a great number of Rebels and traitors against the Commonwealth aforesaid viz: the number of five hundred whose names are yet unknown to the Jurors being armed and arrayed in a Warlike and hostile manner viz with Drums beating fifes playing and with Guns, Pistols, bayonets, Swords, Clubs and divers other weapons as well offensive as defensive with force and arms did falsely and traiterously assemble and Join themselves against this Commonwealth and the Laws and Government of the same established by the Constitution and form of Government as aforesaid and then and there with force and arms as aforesaid did falsely and traiterously array and dispose themselves against the Commonwealth aforesaid and the due Administration of Justice in the same according to the law and Authority of the same and then and there with force and Arms as aforesaid in pursuance of such

their wicked and traitorous intentions and purposes aforesaid did falsely and traitorously prepare order wage and levy a public and Cruel war against the Commonwealth aforesaid and then and there with force and arms as aforesaid wickedly and traitorously did assault, imprison, Captivate plunder, destroy, kill and murder diverse of the liege subjects of the said Commonwealth in the peace of the said Commonwealth being and lawfully and in the duty of their allegiance to the said Commonwealth defending the same from the traitorous attacks as aforesaid all which is against the duty of their allegiance against the peace of the Commonwealth aforesaid, the law of the Commonwealth aforesaid in such Case made & provided and the dignity of the same— And now in this present term before the Court here come the said Jacob Chamberlain and Henry Gale under Custody of the sheriff of said County and being set to the Bar here in their proper persons and forthwith being demanded concerning the premises in the Indictment above specified and Charged upon them how they will acquit themselves thereof they severally say that thereof they are not Guilty and thereof for tryal severally put themselves on GOD and the Country (James Sullivan and Levi Lincoln Esqrs. having been assigned by the Court as Counsel for the prisoners) A Jury is immediately impanelled viz Marble Mowers foreman and fellows namely William Bowles, John Mowers, Malachi Marble, Jon^a Whitney Moses Smith, Benoni Wollis, Jon^a Champney, William Onthank, Artemas Brigham, John Jacobs and Peter Taft who being sworn to Speak the truth of and concerning the premises upon their Oath Say that the said Jacob Chamberlain is not Guilty—but that the said Henry Gale is Guilty—It is therefore Considered by the Court that the said Jacob Chamberlain be discharged and go thereof without day. And now the Attorney General moves that sentence of death might be given against the said Henry Gale the prisoner at the Bar upon which it is demanded of him the said Henry Gale if he has or knows ought to say wherefore the Justices here ought not upon the premises and Verdict aforesaid to proceed to Judgment against him who nothing further says unless as he before had said—Whereupon all and singular the premises being seen and by the said Justices here fully understood—It is Considered by the Court here that the said Henry Gale be taken to the Goal of the Commonwealth from whence he Came and from thence to the place of Execution and there be hanged by the neck until he be dead.

[See Supreme Judicial Court Record, 1787, folio 101.]

COMMONWEALTH V. SHATTUCK ET AL.

At the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts begun and held at Concord within and for the County of Middlesex on the ninth day of May in the year of

our Lord seventeen hundred & eighty-seven by adjournments to that time by Writs from the first Tuesday of the same May in pursuance of Law.

The Jurors for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, upon their Oath present, that Job Shattuck, of Groton, in the County of Middlesex, Gentleman, and Oliver Parker, of Groton, aforesaid, Gentleman, being members and subjects of this Commonwealth and owing allegiance to the same not having the fear of GOD in their hearts nor having any regard to the duty of their allegiance but being moved and seduced by a lawless and rebellious Spirit, &c., &c.

And now in this present Term before the Court here come the said Job Shattuck and Oliver Parker under Custody of the sheriff of the said County and being set to the bar here in their proper persons and forthwith being demanded concerning the premises in the Indictment above specified and Charged upon them how they will acquit themselves thereof they severally say that thereof they are not Guilty and thereof for tryal severally put themselves on GOD and the Country (Christopher Gore and Thomas Dawes Esqrs. having been assigned by the Court as Counsel for the prisoners) a Jury is immediately impannelled viz Sam^l Hoar foreman and fellows namely Samel Cutter, Josiah Capen, Jonas Munroe, Jacob Richardson, Eleaz^r Davis, Archelaus Felton, Silas Gates, Nathan Barrett, Jon^h Patch, Moses Abbot and Isaac Wilkins who being sworn to speak the truth of and Concerning the premises upon their Oath say that the said Job Shattuck is Guilty and that the said Oliver Parker is not Guilty. It is therefore Considered by the Court that the said Oliver Parker be discharged of *this* Indictment—And now the Attorney General moves that sentence of Death might be given against the said Job Shattuck the prisoner at the Bar upon which it is demanded of him the said Job Shattuck if he has or knows ought to say wherefore the Justices here ought not upon the premises and Verdict aforesaid to proceed to Judgment against him, who nothing further says unless as he before had said. Whereupon all and singular the premises being seen and by the said Justices here fully understood It is Considered by the Court here that the said Job Shattuck be taken to the Goal of the Commonwealth from whence he Came and from thence to the place of Execution and there be hanged by the neck until he be dead.

[See Supreme Judicial Court Record, 1787, folio 122.]

Among the Worcester Files of 1787 is an original indictment against Daniel Shays, Luke Day and nineteen others. This, with many others, was carried forward, while the remainder were endorsed "not to be carried forward," and apparently dropped. Nothing appears, however, upon

the Records of the Court, though a careful search has been made, to show that this indictment was ever brought to trial, and the names of Shays and Luke Day, sometimes called the "Master Spirit of the Rebellion," so far as the extended Records are concerned, are conspicuously absent.

In the Minute Book of Hampshire, 1787-1789, for the term holden at Springfield the fourth Tuesday of Sept., 1787, it appears, in the case:—"Commonwealth v. Luke Day, High Treason."

"And now in this present Term before the Court here comes the said Luke Day under the custody of the Sheriff of said County," and being set to the Bar he pleads a misnomer—"that from his Nativity to this Time, he has been called and known by the Name of Luke Day, Jr." The pleadings are in the old elaborate form—covering more than two lengthy, legal pages; the Replication of Attorney-General Paine is held good, and the defendant, on being "held to answer over unto the charge of Treason, . . . says he is not Guilty, and thereof for Tryal puts himself on God and the Country," and "The indictment is continued."

It comes up again at the Sept. Term, 1788, and is again continued; and the suggestion in the message of Governor Hancock, 27 Feb., 1788, for "oblivion," seems to have prevailed.

Worcester, ss. At the Supreme Judicial Court begun & holden at Worcester within & for the County of Worcester on the last Tuesday of April in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred & eighty seven by adjournment to that time by Writ from the Tuesday next preceeding the last Tuesday of the same April by virtue of an Act of the General Court made in February last past.

The Jurors for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts upon their Oaths present That Daniel Shays of Pelham in the County of Hampshire Gentleman, Luke Day of West Springfield in the County of Hampshire, Gentleman, Elijah Day of said West Springfield Gentleman, Adam Wheeler of Hubbardston in the County of Worcester Gentleman, Abraham Gale of Princetown in the said County of Worcester Gentleman, James Williams of Rutland in the said County of Worcester Yeoman, Reuben

Thayer of Uxbridge in the same County Gentleman, Thomas Moor of Spencer in the same County Gentleman Reuben Lamb of Oxford in the same County Yeoman, Luther Wicker of Paxton in the same County Yeoman, Oliver Watson junior of Spencer in the same County Yeoman, Daniel Henderson of said Spencer Yeoman, Samuel Slocum of said Hubbardston Gentleman Moses Smith of Barre in the same County Gentleman Benjamin Convers of Hardwick in the same County Yeoman, Simeon Hazelton of said Hardwick, Gentleman, Francis Stone of New Braintree in the same County Gentleman, Joseph Richardson of Brookfield in the same County Gentleman, Jonathan Holman of Berry in the same County Gentleman, Ichabod Dexter of said Hardwick Gentleman, Aaron Smith of Shrewsbury Gentleman, being members & subjects of the Commonwealth aforesaid & owing allegiance to the same not having the fear of GOD in their hearts nor any regard to their allegiance, but being moved & seduced by a lawless & rebellious spirit & withdrawing from the said Commonwealth that cordial love & due obedience, fidelity & allegiance which every member of the same of Right ought to bear to it & also most wickedly & traiterously devising & conspiring to levy war against this Commonwealth & thereby most wickedly & traiterously intending as much as in them lay to change & subvert the Rule & Government of this Commonwealth duly & happily established by the good people the inhabitants & citizens of the same according to their Constitution & form of Government, & to reduce them to anarchy, lawless power & confusion upon the fifth day of September in the year of Our Lord seventeen hundred & eighty six & on divers other days & times as well before that time as since at Worcester within the said County of Worcester falsly & traiterously did devise & conspire to levy war against this Commonwealth & then & there with a great number of rebels & traitors against the Commonwealth aforesaid Viz. the number of one Thousand whose names are yet unknown to the Jurors being armed & arrayed in a warlike & hostile manner viz. with drums beating, fifes playing & with guns pistols bayonets swords clubs & divers other weapons as well offensive as defensive with force & arms did traiterously assemble & join themselves against this Commonwealth & the laws & government of the same established by the constitution & form of Government as aforesaid, And then & there with force & arms as aforesaid did falsly & traiterously array & dispose themselves against the Commonwealth aforesaid & the due administration of Justice in the same according to the law & authority of the same; & then & there with force & arms as aforesaid in pursuance of such their wicked & traitorous intentions & purposes aforesaid did falsely & traiterously prepare, order, wage & levy a public & cruel war against the Commonwealth aforesaid & then & there with force

& arms as aforesaid wickedly & traiterously did assault, imprison, captivate, plunder, destroy kill & murder divers of the liege subjects of the said Commonwealth in the peace of the said Commonwealth & lawfully & in the duty of their allegiance to the said Commonwealth defending the same from the traiterous attacks as aforesaid all which is against the duty of their allegiance against the peace of the said Commonwealth aforesaid, the law of the Commonwealth aforesaid in such case made & provided & the dignity of the same.

R. T. Paine Atty pro Repub

a true bill

Rufus Putnam Foreman.

Endorsed

Indictment vs. Daniel Shays & al.

Treason

War^{to} to issue on all these.

[See *Suffolk Court Files, Worcester* Sept. 1787 No. 155325.]

Neither "color nor previous condition of servitude" seems to have been a bar to active participation and a prominent place in the rebellion. There is a somewhat curious indictment in the Hampshire Files of 1787 of Moses Sash, "A Captain & one of Shaizes Councill," for Misdemeanor. He appears to have been an active and zealous partisan and an efficient help, from another indictment for stealing arms and ammunition for use in the cause.

Hampshire ss. At the Supreme Judicial Court begun & holden at Northampton within & for the County of Hampshire on the ninth day of April in the year of our Lord Seventeen hundred & eighty seven by adjournment to that time from the first Tuesday of the same April by writ by virtue of an act of the General Court made on February last past.

The Jurors for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts upon their oath present that Moses Sash of Worthington in the County aforesaid a negro man & Labourer being a disorderly riotous & seditious person & minding & contriving as much as in him lay unlawfully by force of arms to stir up promote incite & maintain riots mobs tumults & insurrections in this Commonwealth & to disturb impede & prevent the Government of the same & the due administration of justice in the same, & to prevent the Courts of justice from setting as by Law appointed for that purpose &

to promote disquiets, uneasinesses, jealousies, animosities & seditions in the minds of the Citizens of this Commonwealth on the twentieth day of January in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred & eighty seven & on divers other days & times as well before as since that time at Worthington within the County of Hampshire aforesaid unlawfully & seditiously with force & arms did advise persuade incite encourage & procure divers persons citizens of this Commonwealth by force of arms to oppose this Commonwealth & the Government thereof & riotously to join themselves to a great number of riotous seditious persons with force & arms thus opposing this Commonwealth & the Government thereof as aforesaid & the due administration of justice in the same, & in pursuance of his wicked & seditious purposes aforesaid unlawfully & seditiously, did procure guns, bayonets, pistols Swords, gunpowder, bullets, blankets & provisions & other warlike instruments offensive and defensive, & other warlike supplies, & did cause & procure them to be carried & conveyed to the riotous & seditious persons as aforesaid in evil example to others to offend in like manner against the peace of the Commonwealth aforesaid & dignity of the same.

R. T. Paine atty pro Repub
a true bill

SETH MURRAY foreman

Endorsed

Indictment vs. Moses Sash
a Captain & one of Shazines Council
Misdem^r

[See Suffolk Court Files, *Hampshire*, April, 1788, Nos. 159059, 159060.]

Among the files are a number of original letters, used in evidence, and among these is one "to the good people of boylston," written by Sylvanus Billings and found with an indictment against him. These letters are usually of the same sort, inflammatory appeals or directions and instructions,—sent to individuals to be made public by them,—and seem to have been an instrumentality frequently employed; at the same time they indicate the tone and temper and the grounds of the insurrection.

To the good people of boylston as this is perelous times and blood Shed and prisoners made by tirants who are a fighting for promotion and to advance their Intrest wich will Destroy the good people of this Land—we that Stile our Selves Rigelators think it is our Duty to Stand for our lives and for our familys

and for our Intrest wich will be taken from us if we Dont
Defend them therefore we would have you take it into
Consideration and fly to our asistance and Soon as posable in
this Just and Rightous Cause as there must be Seperation
made this Request from

Daniel Shays and Adam Wheeler who are Chief Commanders
of the army

as I am greatly Requested by these gentlemen to notify you I
think it my Duty to Do so

I am your friend and humble humble Servant

SILVANUS BILLINGS.

December 2: 1786.

Endorsed

To Mr. Joshua Stiles, Boylston.

[See Suffolk Court Files, *Worcester*, Sept., 1787, No. 155325.]

It was provided in the Acts of Indemnity that private
suits for causes growing out of the rebellion should be
held excluded from their operation, and that the indemnity
granted should be no bar to actions of this character.

There is a somewhat famous case of this sort in Essex
County, that of *Young v. Lamb* and others—in a plea of
trespass on the case, which illustrates the operation of the
Act and likewise lets in light upon the events of the
rebellion.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Essex ss.

At the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth
of Massachusetts, begun and holden at Ipswich, within
and for the County of Essex, on the third Tuesday of
June (being the sixteenth day of said month)

Anno Domini, 1789.—

REUBEN LAMB, of Oxford, in the County of Worcester,
Miller, David Stone of said Oxford husbandman, Josiah Kings-
bury, of said Oxford, Clothier, John Barton, junior of said
Oxford, husbandman, David May, of Spencer, in said County
of Worcester, husbandman, Thomas Mower, of Brookfield,
Gentleman, John Pratt of Ward, husbandman, and Luther
Wicker of Paxton, husbandman, and all in said County of
Worcester, appellants, vs. David Young, now conversant at
Ipswich, in the County of Essex, Physician, appellee; from the
Judgment of a Court of Common Pleas held at NewburyPort,
in & for the County of Essex, on the last Tuesday of September
last; when and where the appellee was Plaintiff, and the appel-

lants were defendants; in a plea of trespass on the case, for that the said Reuben Lamb, David Stone, Josiah Kingsbury John Barton Jun^r David May, Thomas Mower, John Pratt and Luther Wicker, at a place called New Braintree, viz. at NewburyPort, in said County of Essex, on the second day of February, in the year of our Lord, seventeen hundred and eighty seven, with force and arms, in and upon the said David Young, being the peace of GOD, and of the Commonwealth, made an assault, and him then and there with force as aforesaid, beat, wounded & evil entreated; and then and there, with force as aforesaid, discharged at the Plaintiff a musket, loaded with powder and ball; which ball entered the Plaintiff's left knee; by reason whereof the Plts life was long dispaired of; and he has thereby lost the use of his limb, and been rendered a cripple for life; and other enormities then and there to the Plaintiff, the said Reuben Lamb, David Stone, Josiah Kingsbury, John Barton, David May, Thomas Mower, John Pratt and Luther Wicker, committed: To the damage of the said David Young, as he saith, the sum of two thousand pounds. At which said Court of Common Pleas, upon the Pleadings there, Judgment was rendered, that the said Young, recover against the said Lamb, Stone, Kingsbury, Barton, May, Mower, Pratt and Wicker, the sum of two thousand pounds Damage and cost. This appeal was brought forward at the last Term of this Court for this County; when and where the parties appeared, and the Plaintiff had leave to strike out the words, "on the case" in the Writ. And the said Lamb, by Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq. his Attorney, defended and said he was not Guilty as the appellant complained, and thereof put himself on the Country. And the appellee, by Theophilus Parsons, Esq. his Attorney, likewise. And the said Stone, by the said Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq. his Attorney, defended when, &c. and said he was not Guilty as the Plaintiff complained and thereof put, &c. And the appellee by his said Attorney likewise. And the said Kingsbury, by the said Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq. his Attorney, defended when, &c. and said he was not Guilty as the Plaintiff complained, and thereof put, &c. and the appellee by his said Attorney likewise. And the said Barton, by the said Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq. his Attorney, defended when, where, &c. and said he was not Guilty as the Plaintiff complained, and thereof put, &c. And the appellee, by his said Attorney, likewise. And the said May, by the said Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq. his Attorney, defended when, where, &c. and for plea said he was not Guilty as the Plaintiff complained, and thereof put, &c. And the appellee, by his said Attorney, likewise. And the said Moore, by the said Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq. his Attorney, defended when and, &c. and said he was not Guilty as the appellee complained, and thereof put &c. And the Appellee, by his said Attorney, likewise. And

the said Pratt, by the said Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq^r his Attorney, defended when, &c. and for plea said he was not guilty as the appellee complained, and thereof put, &c. And the appellee, by his said Attorney likewise. And the said Wicker, by the said Thomas Dawes, Jun^r Esq^r his Attorney, defended when, &c. and for plea said he was not guilty in manner and form as the appellee complained, and thereof put himself on the Country. And the Plaintiff, by his said Attorney, likewise. Issue being thus joined, the case after a full hearing was committed to a Jury sworn according to Law to try the same, who returned their Verdict therein upon oath, that is to say, they "find each of the appellants, except John Pratt, Guilty and assess damages against each of them for the appellee, in the sum of one hundred and thirty five pounds; they also find John Pratt not Guilty of the charge alleged against him." And thereupon a motion was made by the appellants in arrest of Judgment, because the damages were assessed severally; which was overruled—the Verdict set aside, and new tryal granted. And then said appeal was Continued unto this Court. And now the parties appear, and the case after a full hearing is again committed to a Jury, sworn according to Law to try the same, who return their verdict therein upon oath that is to say, they "find each of them guilty, and assess for the appellee damages to the amount of nine hundred pounds, against the appellants." IT IS THEREFORE CONSIDERED BY THE COURT, that the said David Young, recover against the said Reuben Lamb, David Stone, Josiah Kingsbury, John Barton, David May, Thomas Mower, John Pratt, and Luther Wicker, the sum of nine hundred pounds, Lawful money damage & Cost taxed at £11. 5. 11.

Exon. issued. July 7th, 1789.

See Records of Supreme Judicial Court.

1789.

Folio 200.

Among the papers in this case are some thirty depositions giving some descriptions of the skirmish at New Braintree. Depositions, taken not as now by question and answer confined to the precise issue, but in the form of monologue by the deponent as was the old practice,—often full of irrelevant and extraneous matter and incidental digressions,—bring out vividly an occurrence as it looked to eye witnesses and contemporaries, and the whole scene is pictured before us with great distinctness, in its general features and its more minute details.

Suffolk Court Files. Essex. June 1789. No. 183989.

I Samuel Flagg of Worcester in y^e County of Worcester of Lawful age testify and declare, that on Friday the second day of February A D 1787 being at Leicester in said County with M^r John Stanton of said Worcester, and M^r Jonathan Hubbard of said Leicester a dep^y Sheriff, in order to Secure a debt we had against one Southgate, said Southgate not being at home, we tarried a short time until his Father should call him, who soon returned & surrounded the house with a Party of Insurgents of about 150 men under the command of Reuben Thayer & Tim^r Rawson of Uxbridge & Thomas Moore of Brookfield in said County who said they were then returning from General Shay's Army in order to get provisions and with orders to take up any Government men that they might find in arms. M^r Stanton & myself having Pistols they took them from us & conducted us about a mile to one Willesons and then Ordered us into Sleighs with a guard commanded by said Thomas Moore with orders to carry us to Pelham to Gen^l Shays, we left Leicester about dark and proceeded on to new Braintree in said County, where we arrived about Eleven O Clock that night at the house of one Moses Hamilton an Innholder where there was a guard of about 30 or 40 Insurgents Stationed as *I supposed* under the Command of one Capt. Reuben Lamb of Oxford in said County. Centinels were posted and hailed us before we got to the house, and being answered by said Moore, that we were prisoners, the word was given to come on when we came into the house the Guard sleeping on the Floor and round the Fire, it being very cold the said Lamb ordered them to make way for us to come to the fire, said Hamilton being in Bed was called up, and I requested him to put out our horses and get us a Bed, which was done and we were conducted to Bed and Centinel placed in our Chamber with a Candle & a Fixed Bayonet Some hours after I was alarmed by the Beating of the Drum, and the words Turn out, Turn out, I asked the Centinel the time of Night he said 2 O Clock and asked what was the noise, he made me no answer. Soon after I heard two Guns Fired, and in a very short time more I heard as near as I could tell about 20 Guns more, I arose up and found the Centinel was gone and the said Hamilton with some women were in the Chamber & said General Lincoln's light horse were come, I went immediately out of the house, and found it Surrounded with Government Troops, and the Insurgents all gone I asked Doct^r Frink one of the Government Troops if any person was killed he said no, that Doct. David Young & Jonathan Rice were wounded I saw them brought into the house and their wounds dressed. Young was wounded in the knee & Rice in the hand, and we soon after returned to Worcester. And I further testify that the said Reuben Lamb and Thomas Moore by directing the men at Hamiltons & on our way there appeared to

have y^e Command of the Guard, and that I left them both in the house when I went to Bed, and further saith not.

SAMUEL FLAGG.

Worcester ss. September 8th 1788 Then personally appeared the above named Samuel Flagg, & after being carefully examined & cautioned to tell the whole truth & nothing but the truth made oath to the foregoing declaration by him subscribed, Taken at the request of David Young of Ipswich in the County of Essex, Physician to be used in an action of Trespass to be tried at the Court of Common Pleas to be held at Newburyport within & for the County of Essex, on the last Tuesday of September instant, wherein the said David Young is Plaintiff & Reuben Lamb, Miller, David Stone, husbandman, John Barton jun^r husbandman, Josiah Kingsbury Clothier all of Oxford, Luther Wicker, of Paxton, husbandman, David May of Spencer, husbandman, Thomas Moore of Brookfield Gentleman & John Pratt of Ward, husbandman, all in the County of Worcester, are defendants. The said Samuel Flagg living more than thirty miles from the Place of trial is the cause of this caption. The said Lamb, Stone, Barton, Kingsbury, Wicker, May, Moore & Pratt, respectively, were duly notified, & the said Stone, Barton, Kingsbury, May & Pratt attended at the Caption—the said Lamb, Wicker & Moore did not attend.

Before me JOS. ALLEN Just. Pacis

Witness attendance

1 day 2/
taking depo^t &c. 2/8 } 4/8.

Essex ss. Court of Com. Pleas Sept^r term A D 1788

Open'd in Court

Attest I OSGOOD Cler

Worcester ss. 8th Sept. 1788. I John Nazro of Worcester in the County of Worcester, being of lawful age, do testify & declare that on the night of the 2^d Feb^r 1787 I was with a party of about one hundred & fifty men in Sleighs & twenty on horseback, who by orders from Major General Jonathan Warner, march'd from Worcester, to Newbraintree in order to disperse a number of Insurgents who had taken post in that Town. On the approach of this force, a party of the Insurgents, run some distance towards their quarters & made a halt on a Peace of rising ground, near the road, leading to their quarters behind a Stone wall, hence they fired upon the Government party & immediately fled to the woods they being in a Body. Going from the house of M^r Hamilton, towards the meeting house, I met with M^r Jon^s Rice Sheriff, of Worcester; who was badly wounded in his hand & after assisting him I went forward & found Doct^r Young badly wounded through the knee whom I with the assistance of one or two more carried into M^r Hamiltons house where he was

dressed of his wounds, & afterwards he came with me to Rutland and I further Say that on the approach of the Government force to the road leading to Hamilton's house, they were hailed by a Sentry twice or three times, and after that immediately fired & further saith not.

JOHN NAZRO.

Made oath to, before I OSGOOD, Cler.

Sept. 8, 1788. [Caption same as of foregoing deposition.]

Suffolk Court Files, Essex June 1789, No. 138939.

I, Elijah Dix of Worcester in the County of Worcester of lawful age do testify and declare that at the request of General Jon^s Warner went to New Brantree on the night of the 2^d of February 1787 to assist a party of the Government troops to dislodge a party of Rebels at the house of Hamiltons Innholder in Said Brantree, about half a mile before we arrived at Said place heard drums beat to arms upon our advancing, being one of the advance Guard, a Party of s^d Rebels rose up from behind a fence and fired upon us, & wounded 2 of our party viz M^r Jon^s Rice through the hand & arms, and Doct^r David Young very badly in the Joint of the Knee who was immediately seized with violent Spasms, and the pain so exquisite that we expected universal convulsions would Seize the whole System, which together with a large Hemorrhage would soon have clos'd the Sad Catastrophe after his wound was dressed, it was with great difficulty that Said Young was removed to Rutland & put under the care of Doct. John Frink where he lay confined very dangerously Sick with Said wound so that his life was almost despaired of for about one month but through the Judicious treatment of his Surgeon with an attending blessing Said Young is so far recovered as to be able with the assistance of Crutches to carry about his withered deformed Limb. The misfortune has almost intirely deprived him of being usefull in his profession, his prospects were very good, all I am worth wou'd not have been any temptation to have taken his chance—And further the deponent Saith not—

ELIJAH DIX.

Worcester ss. September 8th 1788 Then personally appeared the within named Elijah Dix, and after being carefully examined & cautioned to tell the whole truth & nothing but the truth, made oath to the within written declaration by him subscribed, taken at the request of David Young of Ipswich in the County of Essex, Physician to be used in action of Trespass to be tried at the Court of Common Pleas to be held at Newburyport within & for the County of Essex on the last Tuesday of September instant wherein the said David Young is Plt & Reuben Lamb, Miller, David Stone, husbandman, John Barton junior husbandman, Josiah Kingsbury Clothier, all of Oxford, Luther Wicker of Paxton husbandman, David May of Spencer husbandman,

Thomas Moore of Brookfield Gentleman & John Pratt of Ward husbandman, all in the County of Worcester are defendants. The Said Elijah Dix living more than thirty miles from the place of trial is the cause of this caption. The Said Lamb, Stone, Barton, Kingsbury, Wicker, May, Moore & Pratt were respectively, duly notified, & the Said Stone, Barton, Kingsbury, May & Pratt attended at the Caption. The said Lamb, Wicker & Moore did not attend

Before me JOS. ALLEN Just. Pacis

Witness Attendance 1 Day 2/
taking depositions &c. 2/

4/

Essex ss. Court of Comon Pleas Septem^r term 1788

Opend in Court

Att I OSGOOD Cler.

I Timothy Shaw of New Braintree in the County of Worcester Yeoman of Lawful Age do Testify & say that on the Night of the second, or rather on the morning of the Third day of February A D 1787 being the time when a party of the Government Troops under the Command of General Warner, were sent from Worcester to New Braintree, in order to Disperse a Guard of the Insurgents then stationed in said New Braintree, at the House of Moses Hamilton. That on said Night between the hours of Twelve & one of the Clock, I being in my own House in Bed & asleep One Oliver Witt of Paxton in the said County came to my house and waked me up & desired me to go up in Town to said Hamiltons, for that they the Insurgents Guard expected a party of the Government Troops to make an Onsett upon them, &c. I was very looth to go, but by his Urging I got up Dressed me & went with him to said Hamiltons, when the Insurgents party wanted me to Join them & take up Arms & help Defend the Ground &c. but I declined & did advise them One & all not to fire upon the Government Troops (in Case they should come) but by all means to Quit the Ground in Season & make no resistance. After which the said Oliver Witt & myself left them and set out to go back to my house Witt, went on, I made a little Halt but soon overtook said Witt and we were standing both together in the Road leading south from said Hamiltons to my house & were a Quarter of a mile distant from sd. Hamiltons, when we heard the Firing which was still North from said Hamiltons House as it appeared afterwards, but said Witt, nor myself saw none of the Firing, nor one of the Government Troops that Night being at the time thereof both together & at the distance above mentioned. Soon after we heard said Firing we (s^d Witt & myself) left the Public Road aforesaid & went off as much as half a Mile Easterly in to a Pasture & sat

down together (having neither of us any Arms) where we sat as much as three Quarters of an hour when we heard the Report of one single Gun. Said Oliver Witt was Terribly affrighted & wished me not to leave him & begged me to convey him down to Spencer Privately and he would give me 40 Dollars in Cash, I declined, but went with him about a mile & half to the House of one Harrington being in a Remote part of the Town of New Braintree where I left him said Witt, about the Breaking of the Day, and went home, & have not seen said Oliver Witt from that Day to this. I am Certain said Oliver Witt could not be an Eye Wittness of the Transactions of the said Night he being with me the whole of the Time of Said Firing and Skirmish as I have before declared, I further Say not.

TIMOTHY SHAW

New Braintree
October 24th 1788.

Worcester ss. October 24th 1788.

Then the abovenamed Timothy Shaw Personally appearing, having been carefully Examined and duly Cautioned to tell the whole Truth made solemn Oath that the above Declaration by him Subscribed is the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth.

Taken at the Request of Luther Wicker, to be used in an Action of Trespass to be heard and Tried at y^e Supreme Judicial Court next to be holden at Salem in & for the County of Essex on the First Tuesday of November next, between David Young, resident at Ipswich in said County of Essex, Physician, Plaintiff and the said Luther Wicker & others Defendants the adverse party living more than Twenty miles from the place of Caption was not notified nor present. And the Deponent living more than Thirty miles from the place of Trial is the Cause of this Caption. before me

PERCIVAL HALL Just^{us} Pacis

| | | |
|-----------------------|---|----------|
| Deponents Fees | } | 0—5—4 |
| Travel & attendance | | |
| Justicis Fees | } | 0—6—0 |
| Defendants attendance | | |
| one Day 1/6. Travel | } | 0—3—0 |
| 10 miles 1/6 | | |
| | | £ 0—14—4 |

Examd. p^r P. HALL Jus pacis

Endorsed

To the Hon^{ble} the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts next to be holden at Salem in & for the County of Essex on the First Tuesday of November A. D. 1788.

The Deposition of Timothy Shaw of New Braintree, County of Worcester to be used in an Action of Trespass, David Young Plaintiff vs Luther Wicker & others Defendants

Taken & Sealed by me

P. HALL Jus; pacis

I John Stanton of Worcester of Lawful age testify & declare that in the afternoon of Friday 2^d February 1787 that Col^l Flagg & myself went to Leicester to one Southgates house to endeavor to collect a Debt he owed us, that while we were there the house was surrounded by a number of Armed Men believe about 50 or 60 and entered the house, and made prisoners of M^r Flagg & myself and carried us to one Willson's about one mile distance, where after some consultation, they concluded to Send us on to General Shays, and procured a Slay & gard for that purpose & Thomas Moore was Captain of the gard about 11 o'clock of the same evening we arrived at New Braintree at the house of one Hamiltons a Tavern keeper, where we found about 30 men with Arms &c. under the Command of one Reuben Lamb of Oxford after staying in the room with them about half an hour they concluded to go no further with us that night, we desired liberty to go to Bed and they Set a Centry over us while in Bed about 2 hours after I heard a good deal of noise in the house and a drum beating in the chamber where I asked the Centry what the matter was, he made no answer, about 15 minutes after I heard two Guns, and in about a minute more I heard 20 or 30, I immediately got up found the Centry gone, and some women in the Chamber *hollowing* that Lincolns light horse was come I immediately went down Stairs and found the house surrounded with Governments troops I went out and was informed that M^r Young was wounded, he was soon bro't into the house and I saw him unbutton his Knee & the Bullet fell on the floor. And I further say that *Reuben Lamb and Thomas Moore* where both in the house when I went to Bed.

I further declare that on my arrival at M^r Hamiltons house in the Evening the men I found *there* appeared to be under arms & Subject to Millitary rule & orders and on the beating of the drum I heard the cry turn out and the people appeared to be mustering & turning out

JOHN STANTON"

Worcester ss. Sept. 8, 1788 Taken at the request of David Young &c. &c. before JOS. ALLEN Just. Pacis —

Oliver Witt of Lawful age testifieth & saith that sometime in the beginning of the Month of February in the year 1787 that this deponent was at New Braintree, in the County of Worcester and Commonwealth of Massachusetts with about thirty men armed with Guns as a guard to oppose the Government of the Massachusetts, & under the Command of Reuben Lamb of

Oxford, that about one o'clock at Night we had information that there was an armed force Sent by Government to apprehend us, and were then on their march upon which Information there was given to Said Guard to turn out, and the drums beat to arms, and this deponent Saw said Guard turn out to oppose the party Sent by Government, among whom were the said Reuben Lamb of Oxford Commander, David Stone of Oxford, Josiah Kingsbury of Oxford, John Barton j^r of Oxford David May and Thomas Moore both of Spencer, and Luther Wicker of Paxton all in the County of Worcester & John Pratt of Ward in said County and this deponent saw said guard a part of them sent as Pickett guard go to hale the party sent by Government as they approached, while the other part placed themselves some behind Fences & Some in one place and some in another, and when the party sent by Government approached Said Piquet, your deponent Saw Said Guard retreat and fire upon the Government Party and as Said Government party advanced towards the house of M^r Hamilton where we had been stationed this deponent Saw the other part of our Guard fire upon the Party Sent by Government in all about thirty guns and then make their escape with all possible Speed into the woods & other places and further your deponent Saith not. OLIVER WITT"

State of Vermont Windham ss August 20th 1788. Then personally appeared the within named Oliver Witt &c &c—and made oath to the above before

SAM^l KNIGHT Justice of the Peace

&c. &c. &c.

And Joshua Barnard testified to having heard John Pratt say "he wished the ball had gone a little higher, and then he should not have been put to any trouble about the matter."

There is also among the Essex files an indictment against James Maloon, for sedition. It is contained in a collection of papers endorsed "from Sundry Old indictments taken out of Continued File of Nov. Term 1788, and not further to be carried forward." Some points of interest are brought out by this, and it is illustrative of other similar papers.

From Suffolk Court Files, Essex, Dec. 1788, No. 133826
Essex ss. At the Supreme Judicial Court begun and holden at Ipswich within and for the County of Essex on the third Tuesday of June in the Year of our Lord Seventeen hundred and Eighty seven.

The Jurors for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts upon

their Oath present that James Maloon of Methuen in the County of Essex Gentleman, being a disorderly Riotous and Seditious Person, and minding and contriving as much as in him lay unlawfully by force of Arms to stir up, promote and incite and maintain Riots Mobs Tumults and Insurrections in this Commonwealth and to disturb and impede the Government of the Same and the due Administration of Justice in the Same And to prevent the Courts of Justice as by Law appointed for that purpose and to promote disquiets, Uneasinesses, Jealousies, Animosities and Seditions in the minds of the Citizens of this Commonwealth on the thirtieth day of November last past at Methuen in the County of Essex aforesaid in the hearing of A great Number of liege Subjects and Citizens, Speaking of the disquiets, tumults And Insurrections then Subsisting and of the Orders of the Government of this Commonwealth to raise the Militia to Suppress and Subdue them, and addressing himself to Caleb Swan a Captain of a Company of the Militia in that Town he the said James Maloon with force and arms maliciously and Seditiously did utter and assert the following malicious and Seditious Words Viz! what think you of the times, you have Orders for your men to stand ready (meaning that the said Capt. Swan's Militia Company was ordered to be ready to march in Support of Government), I expect you intend to march your Company in Support of Government if one man is Called for (meaning if one man is called for to march in Support of Government) I (meaning himself the said James Maloon) Mean to go on the other side (meaning that he the said James would go in opposition to the Government of this Commonwealth, and if I see you there in defence of Government meaning the said Captain Caleb Swan in Support of this Government) you shall be the first man I'll Kill: Bowdoin, meaning his Excellency James Bowdoin, Esq^r the then Governor of this Commonwealth is a Tory: Philips, meaning the honorable Samuel Philips jun^r Esq^r then a Senator for the District of Essex in this Commonwealth is a Tory: and that the said James Maloon then and there for the Seditious wicked and destructive purposes before mentioned maliciously and Seditiously did circulate and Communicate and Cause to be Circulated and Communicated to numbers of the liege Subjects and Citizens of this Commonwealth then Called upon to be in readiness to Support the Government and due Execution of the Laws of the Same, a certain malicious and seditious Letter purporting to be wrote and signed by Daniel Shays, Luke Day and Eli Parsons to the said James Maloon, requesting him the said James Maloon to raise the people in Opposition to the Government of this Commonwealth and the Sitting of the Courts of Justice therein And afterwards Viz! on the nineteenth day of June aforesaid in the year aforesaid the said James Maloon

Still continuing his Malicious and Seditious disposition aforesaid at Ipswich aforesaid in the County aforesaid in the hearing of a great Number of liege Subjects of this Commonwealth for the Seditious purposes aforesaid did utter & assert the following Scandalous and Seditious Words Viz: the General Courts and the Government has been guilty of great cruelty in taking up persons on suspicion only without any ground and had refused to bail them particularly John Ford, (meaning Capt John Ford of Chelmsford: the Judges of the Supreme Judicial Court had a great deal of pay without doing anything for it, We have a bad Constitution, meaning, the Constitution of Government of this Commonwealth) and Bowdoin (meaning the honorable James Bowdoin Esq:) made it for the Emolument of himself and his Family: Some of the Acts of the General Court are Devillish and come right from Tophet all which is in evil Example to others to offend in like manner, against the peace of the Commonwealth aforesaid and Dignity of the Commonwealth aforesaid and Dignity of the same

R. T. PAINE Atty pro Republica —
a true bill

JOHN WINGATE { Foreman.

Endorsed "Indictment v. James Maloon for Sedition"

"N. B. let a Warrant Issue & be sent Brady of Haverhill
1 Sept. 1787.

From the printed copies of Proclamations by the Governor among the files and used in the trial of cases, has been taken that of Governor Hancock, dated 15 June, 1787.

There are also others similarly used, among them one directly connected with the Courts, springing out of the Act disqualifying any concerned in the rebellion from future service as jurors.

(SEAL)
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY

JOHN HANCOCK, ESQUIRE,

GOVERNOUR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS the Legislature of this Commonwealth, with an intention, "not only to adopt every vigorous and efficacious method, necessary to suppress the present traiterous opposition to the laws, and to restore peace and harmony to the Common-

wealth, but also to repeat the offers of grace and mercy to the penitent citizen, and to extend the same as far as may be consistent with the true interest of this Commonwealth, and the security of her citizens in future;" have, by a resolve of the thirteenth day of June, instant, made provision for the raising and supporting a force, to defend the Commonwealth, against all wicked and rebellious men; and have also with a very extensive clemency, by the same resolve provided, that, "each and every citizen of this Commonwealth, who have committed any treasons or misprisions of treason against the same, since the first day of June, A. D. 1786, be, and they thereby are indemnified for the same, and for all felonies which had been perpetrated by any of the said citizens in the commissions of treasons, and which are overt acts of the same; and each and every citizen aforesaid, are thereby discharged of all pains, penalties, disqualifications and disabilities of the law in such case, made and provided: PROVIDED, That pursuant to the said resolve, such of said offenders, who have not taken and subscribed the oath of allegiance to this Commonwealth, since the first day of June, A. D. 1786, shall take and subscribe the said oath, before any Justice of the Peace within the Commonwealth, on or before the twelfth day of September next; excepting out of the same indemnification, as well all such persons as had been convicted of such crimes by due course of law, as *Daniel Shays*, of Pelham, Gentleman, *Luke Day*, of West-Springfield, Gentleman, both of the county of Hampshire, and Lieutenant-Colonel William Smith, of the same county, *Eli Parsons*, of Adams, Gentleman, *Perez Hamlin*, of Lenox, Yeoman, *Elisha Manning*, of a place called the Eleven Thousand Acres, Yeoman, *David Dunham*, of Sheffield, Yeoman, *Ebenezer Crittenden*, of Sandisfield, Yeoman, *Jacob Fox*, of Washington, Gentleman, all within the county of Berkshire, whose crimes are so atrocious, and whose obstinancy so great, as to exclude them from an offer of that indemnification, which is extended to those who have been misled, and are not so flagrantly guilty.

I HAVE THEREFORE, BY AND WITH THE ADVICE OF COUNCIL, AND AT THE REQUEST OF THE GENERAL Court, thought fit to issue this Proclamation, that the extension of mercy and indemnification offered by the Legislature, may be fully known, to those unhappy offenders who are the objects of it, and who have been deceived by wicked and designing men, and to give them assurances of their indemnification for all past treasons, misprisions of treason and felonies, and of being again renewed to the arms of their country, and once more enjoying the rights of free citizens of the Commonwealth.

As the lenient measures taken by the General Court, coinciding with the wishes of all good men who love their country,

and ardently wish for the perfect restoration of peace and tranquility, cannot fail to convince the people of the whole State, that should the unhappy and deluded offenders, the subjects of said indemnity, again spurn at the clemency of government, and continue their atrocious and traitorous exertions to overthrow the Commonwealth, the most spirited and decisive measures must be adopted: And I cannot but believe, that the good sense of my fellow-citizens, the regard the people have for the Constitution of civil government established by themselves; their knowledge of their true interest; the obvious necessity of good government, and the unhappy and distressing consequences of supporting government by the sword, will unite all ranks and orders of men, in the pursuit of peace, good order and due obedience to the laws.

AND all officers civil and military, who may be called upon in the duty of their offices to carry the resolve aforesaid, into execution, are hereby strictly enjoined to yield a ready and punctual attention to the same.

GIVEN at the COUNCIL-CHAMBER, in Boston, the fifteenth day of June, in the year of our LORD, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and in the eleventh year of the Independence of the United States of AMERICA.

JOHN HANCOCK.

By his Excellency's Command

JOHN AVERY, jun. Secretary.

Let Warrants Issue ag^t Daniel Shays & the others within Named (except *Perez Hamlin & Manning* Who are in Custody) returnable to the Supreme J Court next to be held at N. Hampton, to the end *Scire Facias* ut legatum may Issue after that Term in case they are not taken.

Proclamation of Indemnity.
9 excepted

Warrant issued
Nov^r 15th. 1787.
vs. Shays
Day
Parsons
Crittenden
&
Fox

N. B. Could not find y^t Smith & Dunham were indicted
An^o Warrant issued Jan^y 7th. 1788 directed to the
Sheriff of the County of Suffolk ag^t Luke Day.

No. 159233. Suffolk Court Files.

In the "Laws and Resolves," as published by the Commonwealth, appear many which have been "taken from the court record."

A brief summary of these as well as others, and of the Messages of the Governor is here added. They all illustrate and explain the legal proceedings as well as set out the action of the Government, and seem a necessary part in giving the side of the Rebellion seen in the Courts.

Laws and Resolves
of
Massachusetts.
1786-7.

1786.

ch. 44. An Act granting indemnity to sundry offenders, on certain conditions, and providing for the trial of such, who shall neglect or refuse to comply with said conditions, and of those who shall be guilty of like offences in future.

p. 111. (providing for trial before Sup. Jud. Court.)

ch. 51. An Act in addition to said Act.

(providing more specifically as to trials in Counties other than that where the offence p. 166. committed.)

ch. 65. An Act for preventing persons serving as Jurors, who in consequence of having been concerned in the present rebellion, are disqualified therefor.

p. 198.

ch. 98. Resolve of November 10, 1786, showing an interruption of the Supreme Judicial Court by the rebellion, taken from the Court Records—authorizes the Court to sit at Lenox the following May, "the Justices of the said Court, by reason of the commotions, tumults and disorders in said County" "having been prevented from holding the said Courts" at the regular October Term preceding at Great Barrington.

p. 390.

In general the Supreme Judicial Court seems to have held its own and to have kept its regular sessions in spite of the commotions.

- 1786
ch. 16. Resolve for re-enlisting troops under General Lincoln, and granting a bounty; and requesting the Governor to issue a proclamation for apprehending the principals of the rebels, and offering a reward for that purpose, and to request the Governors of other States to issue similar proclamations.
p. 433 (providing for 1500 men—for 4 months—borrowing £40000;—bounty 20^s—pay 40s. pr m^o—Reward not exceeding £150. for apprehension of any ringleader—)
- ch. 19. A Resolve made necessary on the petition of the town of Groton, in Consequence of its Constables and tax collectors, Job Shattuck, Benjamin Page and Jacob Lakin Parker, being concerned in the rebellion—
p. 486
- ch. 56. Act, describing the disqualifications to which persons shall be subjected, who have been, or may be guilty of treason, on giving aid or support to the present rebellion,—and to whom a pardon may be extended.
p. 176.
- ch. 29. Resolve requiring prompt payment of taxes—
p. 440.
- ch. 30. Resolve requesting Governor to lend Gen. Lincoln £806 for purpose of enlisting men—
p. 441.
- “ 35. p. 443. Same purport—Gen. Ward £500—.
- “ 140. Resolve on Report of Committee on Major General Shepard's letter of Feb. 1787.—requesting Governor to issue a proclamation warning against the purchase of real estate from any persons concerned in the rebellion except in certain cases described—
And looking to the arrest of rebels moving out of State.
p. 513.
- ch. 145. Resolve for appointment of three Commissions for the Counties of Middlesex, Hampshire, Worcester and Berkshire to conduct proceedings for granting indemnity—
And excepting from any promise of indemnity Daniel Shays, Adam Wheeler, Eli Parsons and Luke Day—by name and certain classes of persons—
p. 515.
- ch. 146. Resolve for payment of £50 to each of such Commissioners, Hon^{ble} Benjamin Lincoln, Hon^{ble} Samuel Phillips, and the Hon^{ble} Sam^l Allin Otis.
p. 516.
1786. 31 May Report of the Commissioners—
& thence to in full—April 27. 1787.

25 Apr. 1787 read and accepted April 30 in House—
by prorogation Read & Concurred in—in Senate Apr. 30.
and Adjournments.

ch. 14. p. 528.

ch. 21. Resolve for raising from troops in service if practicable
or from citizens at large 500 to 800 men—to be formed
into one regiment—6 mos.

also

That “whereas it is the intention of this Court not only to adopt every vigorous and efficacious method necessary to suppress the present traiterous opposition to the laws, and to restore peace and harmony to the Commonwealth, but also to repeat the offers of grace and mercy to the penitent citizen, and to extend the same as far as may be consistent with the true interest of this Commonwealth, and the security of her citizens in future :—Therefore it is further Resolved, that each and every citizen of this Commonwealth, who have committed any treason or misprisions of treason, against the Commonwealth, since the first day of June A. D. 1786, be, and they are hereby pardoned and indemnified for the same, and for all felonies which have been perpetrated since the time aforesaid, by any of the said Citizens, in the commission of such treasons, and which are overt acts of the same: And each and every of the Citizens aforesaid, are hereby discharged of all the pains, penalties, disqualifications and disabilities of the law in such cases provided; and any of the citizens aforesaid, may upon trial for any of the said offences, give this resolution in evidence upon the general issue, which shall have the same operation, as if specially pleaded, except as hereinafter provided.”

providing further that “they hereby are restored to all the rights and privileges of citizens, to all intents and purposes whatever :”—

also for receiving back any arms delivered up ;

The Resolve excepts “Daniel Shays of Pelham, in the County of Hampshire, Gentleman, Luke Day, of West Springfield in the same County, Gentleman, Lieutenant Colonel William Smith, of the same County, Eli Parsons of Adams, in the County of Berkshire, Gentleman, Perez Hamlin, of Lenox, in the same County, yeoman, Elisha Manning, of a place called the Eleven Thousand Acres, in the same County, yeoman, David Dunham, of Sheffield in the same County, yeoman, Ebenezer Crittenden, of Sandisfield, in the same County, yeoman, and Jacob Fox, of Washington, in the same County, Gentleman ; but

they and each of them shall be liable to be tried, convicted and punished for any of the offences aforesaid, in the same manner as if these resolutions had not been made."—

And excepting also all, who not having taken the oath of allegiance, shall not take it before the 12th of the next September—

And providing further that the resolution shall not "extend to any person or persons whatever, who stand convicted of any of the offences aforesaid, by due course of law, but the power of pardoning the same, remains subject to the discretion of the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Council, agreeably to the Constitution of this Commonwealth."—

And providing further that the resolution shall not "extend to bar any civil action already commenced or which may be hereafter commenced for the recovery of damages occasioned by the commission of any of the offences aforesaid"—

p. 677.

- ch. 22. p. 680. Resolve requesting Governor to issue his Proclamation, publishing indemnity and pardon agreeably to this Resolution—

1786

- ch. 1. Message of Governor James Bowdoin, September 28, 1786, occasioned by "the tumults and disorders, which have lately taken place in several Counties within this Commonwealth, and the consequent obstructing the Courts of Common Pleas, and General Sessions of the Peace, in those Counties."

p. 927.

- ch. 5. Message "on the subject of the insurrection in the County of Hampshire, for preventing the sitting of the Supreme Judicial Court, the last week, at Springfield."

Wherein "it gives me pleasure to observe, that the Court behaved with great firmness and propriety: & in a manner that dignifies their dignified character," Oct. 2, 1786—

p. 937.

- ch. 55. Message as to any measures necessary on occasion of Sittings of Supreme Judicial Court at Taunton and Cambridge—Oct. 23. 1786—p. 947

- ch. 77. Message as to apprehended Troubles in the County of Hampshire—Nov^r 6, 1786.

p. 949.

- ch. 96. Message—setting out the measures taken "for the support of the Supreme Judicial Court" at Cambridge, at its sitting Nov. 1.

p. 956.

ch. 1. Message of February 8, 1787—Upon the Situation in general;—the disorders which had occurred, the measures which had been taken, and a consideration and discussion of the whole matter.
p. 959.

ch. 2. 8.
.10. 15. Further Messages on same matter—
31. 32. p. 964—967, 972—973.

1787. Message of Governor John Hancock.

ch. 1. October 17, 1787. Addressed to the Legislature "in a Speech":—

Wherein he refers to the rebellion, the measures taken, the final issue of the matter, and congratulates the General Court "on the return of peace & good order thus far"; and expresses "the sentiment, that this unhappy occurrence cannot be considered as a certain mark of the indisposition of the people to good order & government," reviewing the case of "similar insurrections . . . in the history of all Countries" and setting out the Constitutional conditions in this Commonwealth for the redress of grievances, and expressing his confident hopes for the future.

He then refers to the pardon of four of the principal offenders, who had before been excepted from indemnity &c.:—

"The Legislature having by this Act of the thirteenth of June, indemnified from criminal prosecution all the persons concerned in the late Commotions, excepting those convicted of crimes & nine others specially named in the Act; the Supreme Executive, on similar sentiments, conceived that a pardon to Jason Parmenter, Henry McCulloch, Henry Gale, & Job Shattuck, who were then under sentence of death for treason, might be granted consistently with the dignity & Safety of the Government, & that such a measure would have a tendency to restore the public tranquillity, to conciliate the affections of the people, & to establish peace in the State. Accordingly, by and with the advice of Council, on the thirteenth day of September, I sealed a pardon for those persons."
p. 992.

Message of Gov. Hancock 27 February 1788, "in a Speech."—

Wherein among other things he says:—

"Since the last Session, Luke Day, one of those persons for whose arrest a bounty was offered in consequence of an Act of the Legislature, has been taken

by some of the Citizens of New Hampshire, to whom one hundred pounds has been paid, upon their delivering him into the Custody of the Sheriff of the County of Suffolk. Could the late unhappy commotions be thrown into oblivion, consistently with the honor of Government, & the Safety of the people, I persuade myself it would give Satisfaction."

p. 996.

1788. "Resolve for pardoning Treasons in the late
ch. 75. Rebellion"—

After providing for the protection of persons acting in behalf of the Government or upon its side, and indemnity for Acts done, it is

"Resolved that all and every Citizen and Citizens of this Commonwealth who have been concerned in the Insurrections & Rebellion aforesaid as well those who have been guilty of Sedition & Seditious Practices as those who were excepted by Name in the Resolution of Indemnity passed on the 13th day of June in the Year 1787 are fully and freely indemnified for all Seditious, Seditious Practices Treasons and Misprisions of Treasons & for all Felonies committed in pursuance thereof, and are hereby entitled to the indemnity and to all the Benefits & Advantages of the said Resolution. Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this Resolve shall be construed to indemnify or extend to any Person or Persons who have been convicted in due Course of Law of any of the Crimes and Offences mentioned in the foregoing Paragraph. or to any Person or Persons who having been guilty of any of the said Crimes Shall neglect to take and subscribe the Oath of Allegiance ; or to any of the Persons who were excepted by name in the said Resolve of June 13th A D 1787 and excluded from the Benefit of the Indemnity therein granted who Shall at any Time hereafter accept or hold any Office civil or military within this Commonwealth."

And also the provision that it shall be no bar to Civil Actions.

It has not been attempted in this paper to present any exhaustive treatment of the subject or to give any more than an inconsiderable fraction of the material at hand, but rather merely to use a few illustrative matters from it, and to give here and there a glimpse of this one phase of Shays's Rebellion.

THE CONNECTICUT COMPROMISE.

ROGER SHERMAN THE AUTHOR OF THE PLAN OF EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE STATES IN THE SENATE, AND REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE IN PROPORTION TO NUMBERS IN THE HOUSE.

BY GEORGE F. HOAR.

SENATOR HOAR spoke as follows: Mr. President, I hope to make what I have to say quite brief. What I have to speak of relates to a subject which is of a good deal of interest to me. Everybody here, I suppose, will remember that the great compromise in the Constitution, which adjusted the political power between the Senate and the House of Representatives—the Senate representing the States, and the House representing the people counted by numbers—solved the most difficult problem that presented itself to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. They were on the eve of breaking up in despair, when at last that compromise was effected. There has been a good deal of controversy among historians as to the credit for that conception, and the credit for the influence which carried it through. The biographer of John Dickinson claims it for him. The claim has been made, too, for Mr. Patterson of New Jersey.

I came to prepare the paper which I shall read, in this way. My colleague, Mr. Lodge, delivered at New Haven, the other day, a most admirable address on Oliver Ellsworth. Mr. Lodge was applied to by the Dean of the Yale Law School to deliver the annual address there, last June. He was very unwilling to do it. Professor Wayland, the Dean—an old friend of mine—wrote to me to see if I could not have influence enough with Mr. Lodge to overcome his reluctance. I spoke to my colleague

about it. He said that he did not think that he could do it very well; that it was true he had studied law, but he had been engaged in other things all his life, and did not feel competent to instruct a company of lawyers. It occurred to me that it had been said quite lately, at one of the meetings of this Society, that there was no adequate biography of Oliver Ellsworth in our historical literature. I said to Mr. Lodge, "Why don't you give them an address on Oliver Ellsworth? That is in the line of your studies. He was a Connecticut man. He was not only a great lawyer, but also a great statesman, a great Senator, and a great diplomatist. He had an important share in framing the Constitution. You can, in my opinion, do that better than any man alive; and nothing could be more acceptable to your audience." Mr. Lodge consented, and, as many of you know, performed his task with magnificent success. But in the course of the address he said that Oliver Ellsworth had designed the scheme of the Senate and the adjustment of the legislative powers between the Senate and the House, and that his influence had induced the Convention to adopt it. That led to the correspondence between him and myself which I am about to read. You will see from it that Mr. Lodge fully accepts the conclusion to which I had come.

I think it can be demonstrated from documents which are easily enough accessible, that the original conception of that scheme was Roger Sherman's. He conceived it, in substance, eleven years before the Convention met, when, as appears from Dr. Franklin's narrative, there was an almost equally earnest controversy over the same matter in the Continental Congress. The influence which carried that compromise through, and the provision in the Constitution which made it impossible of repeal, are all due to Roger Sherman.

It may, perhaps, seem a little indelicate that I should make a claim of this kind in regard to my own grand-

father. But it will be remembered that I am speaking of a transaction that occurred one hundred and fifteen years ago. My mother was the youngest daughter of Roger Sherman. I am the youngest child of my own parents. The life of Mr. Sherman is so far separated from mine that it seems to belong to a remote antiquity. I stood, a few years ago, by the grave of a little uncle and aunt of mine, who have been dead more than one hundred and fifty years. So I feel very much as if I were vindicating Adam in something, and that I ought not to be blamed for vindicating Adam, merely because I am one of his descendants.

This question which led to the dispute between the large States and the small States was not a new one when the Constitutional Convention of 1787 met. It was a burning question. It had caused angry differences and disputes in the Continental Congress. It came up in August, 1776. There is an entry in John Adams's diary upon that subject.

October 9th, 1776.

The consideration of the 17th Article being resumed, Dr. Franklin moves that votes should be in proportion to numbers. Mr. Middleton moves that the vote should be according to what they pay.

Sherman thinks that we ought not to vote according to numbers. We are representatives of States, not individuals. States of Holland. The consent of every one is necessary. Three Colonies would govern the whole, but would not have a majority of strength to carry those votes into execution. The vote should be taken two ways; call the Colonies, and call the individuals, and have a majority of both.

John Adams's Works, volume ii., page 499.

In the Continental Congress, July 30, 1776, the Congress being in Committee of the Whole on the Articles of Confederation, and Article 17th being under consideration, namely: "In determining questions, each Colony shall have one vote," Dr. Franklin said, "let the smaller

Colonies give equal money and men, and then have an equal vote. But if they have an equal vote without bearing equal burthens, a confederation upon such iniquitous principles will never last long.

John Adams's Works, volume ii., page 496.

That is the substance of the Connecticut Compromise, as it is called, in a nutshell. That it was a matter which attracted deep attention then is shown by Dr. Franklin's speech which was read by Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, when the matter became an exciting question in the Constitutional Convention. I will not read the Doctor's speech at length. In it he says :—

My learned colleague (Mr. Wilson) has already mentioned that the present method of voting by States was submitted originally to Congress, under a conviction of its impropriety, inequality, and injustice. This appears in the words of their Resolution. It is of Sept. 6, 1774. The words are

"Resolved that in determining questions in this Cong^d each Colony or province shall have one vote: the Cong^d not being possessed of or at present able to procure materials for ascertaining the importance of each Colony."

Documentary History of the Constitution, vol. iii., p. 106.

After Mr. Lodge's speech, I addressed to him this letter, and accompanied it with extracts from the Madison Papers and the Journals, showing the relation of Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Sherman to the Connecticut Compromise. But the letter will tell the story. I am not without excellent precedent for discussing in public the share taken in the great transactions of that time, by a gentleman from whom I myself am descended. There was never a more remarkable example of absolute candor and impartiality than Mr. Charles Francis Adams's biography of his father and grandfather, and the manner in which he has edited their works, including their diaries. But I once heard Mr. Adams introduced at an Alumni, or $\phi \beta \kappa$ Din-

ner, at Harvard, with the sentiment that "he had borne his Grandfather on his shoulders through all his historical perils, as Æneas carried Anchises on his shoulders through burning Troy."

[Senator Hoar here read his letter to Mr. Lodge, dated July 28, 1902. It will be found on pp. 239-248, with Mr. Lodge's reply.]

Continuing his remarks, Senator Hoar said: "This is no trifling matter. I think our generation does not adequately comprehend the importance of treating a State, or Town, or City, as a moral being with character, and affections, and principles, and influence, and history, instead of a mere aggregation of human beings to be reckoned by numbers. Our ancestors recognized the American States as equal in these qualities, and did not apportion political power according to the mere brute force of numbers. I am glad to learn that Connecticut has lately, in her recent Constitution, held on, in part, to the doctrine that the old Connecticut Town, with all its associations, with all that belongs to it, and its name and all that it has stood for, for more than two hundred and fifty years, is not to be drowned out by modern communities by mere numbers. Who would think of having a Confederacy to which all Europe should belong, and having Switzerland, or Holland, or Sweden vote in proportion to numbers in the same body with Russia, or Turkey? If there had been such a League, or Confederacy, for national government in ancient times, who would have thought of having Athens, or Sparta, belong to a Confederacy with Persia, and having to vote in proportion to numbers? The fact that a City, or State, or Town is a moral being, with a life of its own and a quality of its own is one of the great secrets of constitutional liberty. It is the secret of the great things which have been wrought out in political life in all human history. The fact that you think of your Country, or your State, or your City as you do of your mother, as an indi-

vidual, is what makes you love her and ready to die for her. 'I have often thought, what indeed I have said more than once elsewhere, that it is this individual quality, this moral quality which men in free States attribute to the State, or the Country, that creates all there is to value in a country's history. The citizen has a conception of the moral character of his Country, and that conception inspires him with the same moral qualities, whether they be noble or base. When the French soldiers marched with Napoleon through Europe overthrowing all her Kingdoms and Powers, to the tune of the Marseillaise—"Sons of France awake to glory!"—it was the master passion of France, the Mother, that inspired her sons. At the end of that march forty centuries looked down on her from the pyramids. But one day, in Trafalgar Bay, they met the children of another Mother, of a very different moral quality and character, inspired by a very different sentiment. To them Nelson gave his immortal signal—"England expects every man to do his duty." Duty-loving England and glory-loving France met in that deadly conflict, and then as ever, the lover of duty proved the stronger. The England that expected every man to do his duty was as real a being to the humblest sailor in Nelson's fleet as the Mother that bore him. That is what has made England! That is what has made Massachusetts! That is what has made little Rhode Island! That is what has inspired their children with filial love!

This is a matter, as I said, of immense practical importance to this generation. The attempt lately made to substitute for the State, with its moral quality, and its moral being, and its individual history, meeting with its forty-four or fifty fellows to govern this Republic in national matters, a mere aggregation of numbers—to have two popular branches, both elected by the people, differing only in the size of the constituency, is the first, and most insidious, and most dangerous attempt to overthrow

the Constitution. Other amendments have been amendments of mere mechanism, or have been amendments designed to secure individual and personal rights. But this proposed amendment of the constitution of the Senate goes deeper, and is the first great change ever proposed in the principle on which the Constitution is founded. The Senate and the Supreme Court of the United States are the two great contributions of this country to human progress, as far as it is written and secured in constitutional governments. I hope and I confidently believe that this generation will not throw away either.

Senator Hoar then presented a paper containing correspondence between himself and the Honorable Henry Cabot Lodge, and extracts from the Madison Papers showing the share taken by Roger Sherman and Oliver Ellsworth respectively, in the adoption of the Connecticut Compromise.

ISLES OF SHOALS, July 28th, 1902.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE:

I suppose that as a writer and student of American history, dwelling in Boston, you have been often bothered by the claims of your contemporaries in behalf of their Grandfathers. On the other hand as a Bostonian with an illustrious Greatgrandfather of your own you must have learned to sympathize with the feeling.

So I make no apology for calling your attention to the question whether Mr. Ellsworth can be justly credited with having designed the existing distribution of political power between the States and the Nation in National Legislation, or of having caused the adoption of the same by his efforts in the Convention that framed the Constitution, or whether on the other hand Mr. Sherman be not justly entitled to that credit.

The question is not of very great importance to the fame of either. Each of them rendered enough distinguished public service to bear the subtraction of that from his credit without any serious impairment of his fame. That is specially true of Oliver Ellsworth, who gained so great distinction in diplomacy, in jurisprudence, in legislation, and as a builder of the Constitution.

I heard your address at New Haven. It was one of the delights of my life. No man was ever better paid for a day's journey than I was by hearing that. The subject was very dear to me indeed. I have always felt toward Oliver Ellsworth as you might feel

toward a very dear Uncle, or, except for the difference in time, as toward an elder Brother. He was my Grandfather's dearest and closest friend. My Mother was constantly in his household, and his Daughter was my Mother's dearest friend in her youth, and his children were her playmates. So I heard stories about the Ellsworths, or to use my Mother's phrase what "Judge Ellsworth used to say" as you heard stories doubtless from your parents of your grandparents. Ellsworth's great service has been too much neglected by historians. Save the excellent, but of course brief, tribute to him by Mr. Bancroft, there has been no adequate tribute to him until yours.

But I think you will agree that the chief credit of the Connecticut Compromise, as it has been called, does not belong to him.

I have drawn off from the Madison papers everything which was said or done by either of them in regard to this subject. Of all this I send you a copy. The dates are given. The pages referred to are those of the edition just published by Congress in what is called the Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States, which I have no doubt you have at hand.

What Mr. Ellsworth said and did in the matter is this. June 11th, he seconded Roger Sherman's motion. This motion was that the proportion of suffrage in the first branch should be according to numbers, and that in the second branch each State should have one vote and no more. That motion was, after debate, lost. June 29th, Mr. Ellsworth moved that the rule of suffrage in the second branch be the same with that established by the articles of confederation. He made an able speech, briefly reported, in which he said that he hoped that this would become a ground of compromise, in regard to the second branch, and that Massachusetts was the only State to the Eastward that would agree to a plan which did not contain this provision. That motion also was lost. June 30th he made another able speech in favor of that proposition. June 25th, he made another able speech on the same subject.

July 2nd, he was elected to the Committee on Representation in the Senate. He did not serve on the Committee, but was replaced by Mr. Sherman. July 5th, he said he was ready to accede to the compromise they had reported. July 14th, he asked two very searching and pregnant questions of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Madison, the answers to which tended to destroy the force of Mr. Wilson's argument against the compromise. August 8th, Mr. Ellsworth did not think the clause as to originating money bills of any consequence, but as it was thought of consequence by some of the members from the larger States he was willing that it should stand.

So, to sum up Mr. Ellsworth's work in the matter: he made a motion which was lost, covering a part of the plan. He seconded Mr. Sherman's original motion which was lost. He

made another motion substantially to the same effect which was lost, and made three strong speeches and put two pertinent questions on the side of the measure. He was put on the Grand Committee, but did not serve, but afterward expressed his acquiescence in the report, and was obliged to leave the Convention before it adjourned without signing the Constitution.

Now on the other hand see what Mr. Sherman had to do with it, both as to conceiving the plan, and as to promoting its adoption by the Convention after it had been twice rejected. First, you find in John Adams's diary that this same question occasioned a very earnest struggle in the Continental Congress. I have not the references at hand. But you will easily find them by looking at the index of John Adams's works. John Adams says that in 1776 the Congress being in Committee of the Whole on the articles of confederation, Mr. Sherman wanted to have the question taken both ways, the States once to vote according to numbers, and again on the principle of equality, and that no vote should be deemed to be carried unless it had a majority vote both ways.

This is in substance what Mr. Sherman moved first in the Constitutional Convention.

That this was a subject of great discussion and controversy in the Congress, and considered of the most vital importance is clear not only from the character of the question, but from Dr. Franklin's statement made in the Constitutional Convention as to what happened in the Continental Congress in 1774. Mr. Sherman was a member of that Congress as he was of the Congress in 1776. Mr. Ellsworth was not a member of the Continental Congress in either of those years, unless I am very much mistaken. I am sure I can trust my memory as to 1774 and I believe that is true as to 1776, although I am not able to refer to the authority here.

So Mr. Sherman had been through one great contest on this same question, and had himself devised the solution which was finally in substance adopted in the Constitution.

Next, Mr. Sherman made the first motion for the adoption of this principle in the Convention, June 11th. The relation of that motion to the old controversy in the Continental Congress appears clearly from the fact that Dr. Franklin's statement on that subject was made to the Convention the same day.

Also on the same day Mr. Sherman, having made his original proposition, moved that the question be taken upon it and declared that everything depended on that. He declared that the smaller States would never agree to the plan on any other principle than an equality of suffrage in this branch.

This, as appears above, was June 11th. Mr. Ellsworth took no part in the matter, except seconding Mr. Sherman's motion, until June 29th. June 20th, Mr. Sherman made a long and

strong speech in favor of the plan. June 28th, also, Mr. Sherman made another earnest speech in favor of the plan. So he had not only devised the scheme, but moved it in the Convention, and made three speeches in its favor before Mr. Ellsworth was heard from. Next when on July 2nd General Pinckney moved the Grand Committee to devise and report a compromise, Mr. Sherman spoke in favor of the motion. He said, "we are now at a full stop, and nobody he supposed meant that we should break up without doing something." Mr. Ellsworth took no part in that.

July 2nd, Mr. Ellsworth was elected on the Committee. But he went off the Committee alleging indisposition, and Mr. Sherman went on. The indisposition could not have been very serious because Mr. Ellsworth is found taking part in the proceedings of the Convention, I think, without intermission. He was present in the Convention and spoke July 5th, the first day of their meeting after the Committee was appointed. So it seems not unlikely that his indisposition was not only not very serious, but that he went off the Committee in order that Mr. Sherman who had shown such great interest in the matter should take his place. But this of course is mere conjecture and is not entitled to much weight.

Mr. Sherman then appears as moving in the Committee a further limitation on the power of the Senate, namely that while the House was to vote according to numbers, no measure should pass the Senate, unless there was a majority in the Senate as representing population and also a majority as representing the States in its favor. Mr. Madison says that that was not much deliberated upon or approved. It does not affect the point we are dealing with one way or the other. But it seems to me likely that Mr. Madison, who did not himself attend the meeting of the Committee, probably got his information from somebody who misapprehended the point, because it does not seem likely that that would have been proposed. If Mr. Sherman made any motion at all of the sort I should conjecture that it was one which was expected to take effect only in case the old plan of a single branch, or of amending the articles of confederation, which both he and Ellsworth as well as Patterson and some others had favored, were adopted. But this is all conjecture.

After the Committee had reported, Mr. Sherman on the 7th of July makes a speech at some length in favor of the plan. Mr. Ellsworth did nothing further except his speech and questions on July 14th. On July 14th, Mr. Rutledge moved to reconsider the two propositions touching the originating of money bills in the first and the equality of votes in the second branch. Mr. Sherman replied to him and objected, but the objection seems to have been waived, and Mr. Sherman made another speech, so

that he spoke twice on that day. Sept. 5th, Gouverneur Morris moved to postpone the clause concerning money bills which formed part of the compromise. Mr. Sherman replied to him that he was for giving immediate ease to those who looked on this clause as of great moment, and for trusting to their concurrence in other proper measures.

Now it seems to me from the foregoing summary that Mr. Sherman, besides having devised and proposed the measure and having made more speeches than any other person in its favor, may be fairly considered to have been the member who had the measure in charge. He undertakes to speak for the smaller States and whenever any question of postponing, or proceeding to consider or reconsider is made he rises to represent his side. Not only that, but when Mr. Morris tries to get rid of the clause about money bills which had been desired by the large States, and also was advocated later by General Washington in the only speech he made as to any provision of the Constitution as being of great importance, Mr. Sherman insisted that that should be disposed of and that those who favored it should be trusted to concur in other proper measures. But finally, and what seems to me a clincher, on the 15th of September when the provision as to amending the Constitution was up, Mr. Sherman moved, what nobody of the small States seems to have thought of before, to annex to the end of the article a further proviso that no State shall without its consent be affected in its internal police, or be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. That was lost. Mr. Sherman then instantly moved to strike out the provision authorizing amendments to the Constitution altogether. That was lost. But there were such murmurs of discontent among the Representatives of the small States that the majority yielded, and Morris who had himself strenuously resisted the whole arrangement moved to annex Mr. Sherman's proviso that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate. This was unanimously agreed to. This motion of Gouverneur Morris was only a repetition of Mr. Sherman's motion without the provision as to internal police. This was the last day of the Convention, and no further action was taken except the signature of the members.

So it seems to me clear that the plan was Mr. Sherman's, that the proposal of it in the Convention was Mr. Sherman's, that the first speech in its favor was Mr. Sherman's, that the parliamentary conduct of it was Mr. Sherman's, and that the final proposition which made it safe in the clause about amending the Constitution was Mr. Sherman's, and that he was on the Committee that reported it, and that he made more speeches in its favor than anybody else, and seems to have had the entire management or conduct of the measure.

On the other hand, Mr. Ellsworth's contribution was seconding

Mr. Sherman's first motion, making a similar motion himself, which was lost, and three or four powerful speeches in its favor.

Now I know very well that there are many cases where one man will move a measure, will propose and devise a measure, and will even have charge of a measure in a legislative body when the success of the measure is due to the powerful influence of another. I suppose if some resolution declaring the doctrine of Webster's reply to Hayne had been moved by Mr. Foot, or somebody else, and had been adopted by the Senate that Webster would have been the man to whom the securing of its adoption would be due. I suppose that the success of Hamilton's financial policy is due to him, and not to the men who introduced and supported it in either House of Congress.

You and I have seen many examples like the first in our own experience. I have prided myself a good deal on the provision for succession to the Executive power which was substituted for the old clumsy arrangement. But I should have been in very great danger of losing it by the adoption of an amendment which would have spoiled it by requiring a Presidential election to be had at once in the case that the bill provided for, but for Mr. Evarts coming to my help in a powerful speech which convinced and carried the Senate.

But I do not think that can be said as to the comparative influence of Mr. Sherman and Mr. Ellsworth, great as was the power of the latter.

Mr. Sherman, if he were remarkable for anything, was remarkable for his great tenacity in insisting on plans he had once devised, his great success in attaining his objects, and his great influence over the bodies to which he belonged, especially his great influence over the minds of the ablest men. I think he may be fairly compared to Alexander Hamilton in that particular. This is proved by abundant testimonials from his greatest contemporaries. I do not think such testimonials are in existence in regard to another of them, save Washington alone, with the possible exception of Dr. Franklin. I cite a few of them from memory. Theodore Sedgwick, who served with Mr. Sherman in Washington's first administration, said, "He was the man of the selectest wisdom he ever knew. His influence was such in the bodies to which he belonged that he never failed to carry every measure and every part of a measure which he advocated." I do not think the record will support this statement of Theodore Sedgwick's to its full extent, but it will support it almost to its full extent.

Fisher Ames said, "That if he happened to be out of his seat when a subject was discussed, and came in when the question was about to be taken, he always felt safe in voting as Mr. Sherman did; for he always voted right." Patrick Henry said that the first men in the Continental Congress were Washington,

Richard Henry Lee, and Roger Sherman. He said at another time that Roger Sherman and George Mason were the greatest statesmen he ever knew. This statement appears in Howe's "Historical Collections of Virginia," in the "Life of George Mason," and in the "Life of Patrick Henry." I took pains to verify it by writing to William Wirt Henry, Patrick Henry's grandson. I have his letter in my possession, in which he declares that there is no doubt about it. He has frequently heard his mother, who was Patrick Henry's daughter-in-law and in whose household Patrick Henry lived in his old age, state the fact, and especially he got from his mother an account of Howe's visit to his father and mother not long after Patrick Henry's death, when Mr. Howe received the statement from Patrick Henry's son and his wife, William Wirt Henry's parents.

John Adams said of him, that he "was one of the soundest and strongest pillars of the Revolution," and that he never knew two men more alike than Sherman and Ellsworth, except that the Chief Justice had the advantage of a liberal education. General Scott, who with all his foibles, was a very great master of Constitutional principles, said that he thought Roger Sherman was entitled to be considered as the fourth man in the transactions embracing the whole revolutionary period and the formation of the new government. John Adams spoke of him on another occasion in a letter to his wife, "as firm in the cause of American Independence as Mt. Atlas." Mr. Jefferson pointed him out to Dr. Spring and said, that is Mr. Sherman of Connecticut, a man who never said a foolish thing in his life.

I hope you will not think that I quote these things from the vanity of a near relative. But it seems important to this particular question to see whether after all whatever might have been Mr. Sherman's original relation to the matter Mr. Ellsworth's superior strength and influence may not entitle him to the credit of its accomplishment. However, I do not think I need to cite much stronger evidence on this point than that of Judge Ellsworth himself, who paid to Mr. Sherman the high tribute you cite in your address, a tribute never paid by any public man to another on any other occasion that I know, that he had formed his own character on Mr. Sherman's model. It may possibly be worth while to add to what I have said that Mr. Sherman never during his long life failed of re-election to any public office that he held, except in the case of the Connecticut Legislature in the early days where the principle of rotation in office was firmly established. When after the Revolutionary War there was danger that a Tory would be elected the first Mayor of New Haven, Mr. Sherman though then absent, I think, at the Constitutional Convention, was chosen Mayor. Thereupon the Legislature passed a law that the office of Mayor should be held at the pleasure of the Legislature. That resulted,

as it was intended, in a life tenure of office for Mr. Sherman. He held the office of Mayor until he died, although Representative and Senator at the same time.

So while Mr. Ellsworth's great character and ability as shown by his other important public employments is unquestioned, it can hardly be claimed that he should have the credit of a measure otherwise apparently due to Mr. Sherman, by reason that his strength was needed to its success.

I hope I have not wearied you by this discussion, or trespassed too much on your good nature. But I think you will like to be sure, in publishing, what I am confident is to be a historical paper of very great and permanent value, and which seems to me unsurpassed of its kind, to get right in every detail.

I am with high regard,
Faithfully yours,
GEO. F. HOAR.

N. B. In summing up Ellsworth's and Sherman's contributions to this debate in this letter I only include speeches that bear on the point of the compromise, namely the voting according to the principle of equality in one branch and according to numbers in the other, and giving the House the exclusive power to originate money bills. There are several speeches by Ellsworth, as there are by Patterson of New Jersey, in favor of the equality of the States and in favor of engrafting the new provision on the old confederation. That also was the idea of Mr. Sherman before the Convention met. There is now in existence in his handwriting in the possession of my cousin at New Haven, the paper which he took with him to the Convention proposing his scheme of a Constitution. That is copied in Boutell's *Life of Roger Sherman*. I have in my possession a copy of the Constitution wholly in his handwriting, as it appeared shortly after the report of the Grand Committee. It was altered considerably after that time.

NAHANT, MASS., Aug. 1, 1902.

DEAR MR. HOAR:—

Many thanks for your letter about Ellsworth and the extracts of the debate, which I am very glad to read over in that compact form. Your letter seems to me most admirable, and I freely admit proves the case. I think I shall have a statement that the origin of the plan was with Sherman, but I think I may fairly say that Ellsworth shared with him the credit of compelling the adoption of the compromise. I shall print your letter as an appendix to my article, for it seems to me of great value historically. I hope you will have no objection to my doing so. I shall print it just as it is, omitting only the very kind things you say about my essay, which I value extremely, but it would

look rather vain for me to print them in my own book, though, I confess, I should like to do so.

Always sincerely yours,

H. C. LODGE.

Honorable GEORGE F. HOAR, United States Senator.

Ellsworth made the motion which was lost on the equal division, but it was that motion which embodied the compromise adopted.

WORCESTER, MASS., August 9, 1902.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE:

I have not answered your letter about the Ellsworth paper because I have been moving home from the Isles of Shoals, and the papers I had there have been packed up. But I should be very happy and indeed much honored if you like to include my letter in your book. The abstracts from the Madison Papers and John Adams's diary of what was done by Sherman and Ellsworth in regard to the matter, I am afraid, would be rather too long for the book, though it would be worth while to have them printed somewhere.

You will observe that Mr. Sherman's first motion, June 11th, which is eighteen days before Mr. Ellsworth made his, includes both parts of the compromise as to representation, namely representation according to numbers in the first branch and equality of States in the second. That was seconded by Mr. Ellsworth. Mr. Ellsworth made no motion on the subject, if I mistake not, until June 29th, and that motion was limited to making the rule in the second branch the same as that established by the Articles of Confederation. But he said in his speech that he was not sorry that they had determined against that rule in the first branch and hoped it might become a ground of compromise.

Where the suggestion of yielding the power to the House to originate money bills first came from does not appear. Mr. Gerry moved on the 13th of June, to restrain the Senatorial branch from originating money bills. That was opposed by Mr. Butler, Mr. Madison, Mr. King, and Mr. Sherman. Mr. Reed favored the proposition, but would not extend the restraint to the case of amendments. Mr. Pinckney thought the question premature. He thought if the Senate was formed on the same principle as the House they should have equal power, otherwise a different principle should be introduced. But who suggested this as a part of the compromise does not appear. But as Mr. Sherman was on the committee that reported the compromise and as he insisted that that should be agreed to, trusting the majority to do what was right in the other matter, it seems quite likely that that was his suggestion. This however is mere guesswork. At any rate there is nothing to indicate that it was Ellsworth's.

I should hope if you include the letter at all in your book you

would not object to including what I have said about the value of your paper. It does not strike me that that would be considered in any way out of taste. Mr. Sumner, as you remember, edited his speeches himself, and includes in the appendix to each of them the complimentary letters which were written to him about them. This is a mere statement of the value of the historical paper. Most authors allow their publishers or editors in advertising their books, frequently on leaves bound up with the books, to include criticisms which to say the least are of a very flattering character. That cannot be said of my letter.

I am with high regard,

Faithfully yours,

GEO. F. HOAR.

The Honorable

HENRY CABOT LODGE,
Nahant, Mass.

The relation of
Sherman and Ellsworth to the
Connecticut Compromise.
From Madison Papers.

Proceedings of the
Constitutional Convention.

The references are to the Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States.

OLIVER ELLSWORTH,
Seconds Roger Sherman's motion. 108. June 11th.

Objects to term National Government. 166.

Mr. Ellsworth moves to alter it so as to run "that the Government of the United States ought to consist of a supreme Legislative, Executive and Judiciary." This alteration he said would drop the word national, and retain the proper title "the United States." He could not admit the doctrine that a breach of any of the federal articles could dissolve the whole. It would be highly dangerous not to consider the Confederation as still subsisting. He wished also the plan of the Convention to go forth as an amendment to the articles of Confederation, since under this idea the authority of the Legislatures could ratify it. If they are unwilling, the people will be so too. If the plan goes forth to the people for ratification several succeeding Conventions within the States would be unavoidable. He did not like these conventions. They were better fitted to pull down than to build up Constitutions.

June 20th.

Argues in favor of election by Legislature and equality. 209, 210.

Mr. Ellsworth saw no reason for departing from the mode contained in the Reports. Whoever chooses the member, he will be a citizen of the State he is to represent and will feel the same spirit and act the same part whether he be appointed by the people or the Legislature. Every State has its particular views and prejudices, which will find their way into the general councils, through whatever channel they may flow. Wisdom was one of the characteristics which it was in contemplation to give the second branch. Would not more of it issue from the Legislatures; than from an immediate election by the people? He urged the necessity of maintaining the existence and agency of the States. Without their co-operation it would be impossible to support a Republican Government over so great an extent of Country. An army could scarcely render it practicable. The largest States are the worst governed. Virginia is obliged to acknowledge her incapacity to extend her Government to Kentucky. Massachusetts cannot keep the peace one hundred miles from her capitol and is now forming an army for its support. How long Pennsylvania may be free from a like situation cannot be foreseen. If the principles and materials of our Government are not adequate to the extent of these single States; how can it be imagined that they can support a single Government throughout the United States. The only chance of supporting a General Government lies in engrafting it on that of the individual States.

June 25th.

Favors payment of Senators by States. 221.

Mr. Ellsworth moved to strike out "to be paid out of the national Treasury" and insert "to be paid by their respective States." If the Senate was meant to strengthen the Government it ought to have the confidence of the States. The States will have an interest in keeping up a representation and will make such provision for supporting the members as will ensure their attendance.

June 26th.

Mr. Ellsworth moved to postpone the residue of the clause and take up the 8th Resolution. 245.

Mr. Ellsworth moved that the rule of suffrage in the second branch be the same with that established by the articles of confederation. He was not sorry on the whole he said that the vote just passed had determined against this rule in the first branch. He hoped it would become a ground of compromise with regard to the second branch. We were partly national; partly federal. The proportional representation in the first branch was conformable to the national principle and would secure the large States against the small. An equality of voices was conformable to

the federal principle and was necessary to secure the small States against the large. He trusted that on this middle ground a compromise would take place. He did not see that it could on any other. And if no compromise should take place, our meeting would not only be in vain but worse than in vain. To the Eastward he was sure Massachusetts was the only State that would listen to a proposition for excluding the States as equal political Societies, from an equal voice in both branches. The others would risk every consequence rather than part with so dear a right. An attempt to deprive them of it, was at once cutting the body of America in two, and as he supposed would be the case, somewhere about this part of it. The large States he conceived would notwithstanding the equality of votes, have an influence that would maintain their superiority. Holland, as had been admitted had, notwithstanding a like equality in the Dutch Confederacy, a prevailing influence in the public measures. The power of self-defence was essential to the small States. Nature had given it to the smallest insect of creation. He could never admit that there was no danger of combinations among the large States. They will like individuals find out and avail themselves of the advantage to be gained by it. It was true the danger would be greater, if they were contiguous and had a more immediate common interest. A defensive combination of the small States was rendered more difficult by their greater number. He would mention another consideration of great weight. The existing confederation was founded on the equality of the States in the article of suffrage: was it meant to pay no regard to this antecedent plighted faith. Let a strong Executive, a Judiciary and Legislative power be created; but let not too much be attempted; by which all may be lost. He was not in general a half-way man, yet he preferred doing half the good we could, rather than do nothing at all. The other half may be added, when the necessity shall be more fully experienced.

June 29th.

The motion of Mr. Ellsworth resumed, for allowing each State an equal vote in the second branch. 248. June 30th.

Mr. Wilson said, "The Gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. Ellsworth) had pronounced that if the motion should not be acceded to, of all the States north of Pennsylvania one only would agree to any General Government." 248, 249. June 30th.

Mr. Ellsworth said the capital objection of Mr. Wilson, "That the minority will rule the majority," is not true. The power is given to the few to save them from being destroyed by the many. If an equality of votes had been given to them in both branches, the objection might have had weight. Is it a novel thing that the few should have a check on the many? Is it not the case in the British Constitution the wisdom of which so many gentlemen have united in applauding? Have not the

House of Lords, who form so small a proportion of the nation a negative on the laws, as a necessary defence of their peculiar rights against the encroachments of the Commons? No instance of a Confederacy has existed in which an equality of voices has not been exercised by the members of it. We are running from one extreme to another. We are razing the foundations of the building, when we need only repair the roof. No salutary measure has been lost for want of a majority of the States to favor it. If security be all that the great States wish for the first branch secures them. The danger of combinations among them is not imaginary. Altho' no particular abuses could be foreseen by him, the possibility of them would be sufficient to alarm him. But he could easily conceive cases in which they might result from such combinations. Suppose that in pursuance of some commercial treaty or arrangement, three or four ports and no more were to be established, would not combinations be formed in favor of Boston, Philadelphia and some port in Chesapeake? A like concert might be formed in the appointment of the great officers. He appealed again to the obligations of the federal pact which was still in force, and which had been entered into with so much solemnity, persuading himself that some regard would still be paid to the plighted faith under which each State, small as well as great, held an equal right of suffrage in the general Councils. His remarks were not the result of particular or local views. The State he represented (Connecticut) held a middle rank. 251, 252. June 30th.

Mr. Ellsworth assured the House that whatever might be thought of the Representatives of Connecticut the State was entirely federal in her disposition. He appealed to her great exertions during the War, in supplying both men and money. The muster rolls would show she had more troops in the field than Virginia. If she had been delinquent, it had been from inability, and not more so than other States. 255. June 30th.

Elected to the Committee on Representation in the Senate. 269. July 2nd.

Replaced by Sherman on Committee on Representation in the Senate. 270. Note. July 5th.

Mr. Ellsworth said he had not attended the proceedings of the Committee, but was ready to accede to the compromise they had reported. Some compromise was necessary; and he saw none more convenient or reasonable. 277. July 5th.

Favors Senators voting per capita. 412. July 23rd.

July 14th, page 348, Mr. Ellsworth asked two questions. One of Mr. Wilson, whether he had ever seen a good measure fail in Congress for want of a majority of States in its favor? He had himself never known of such an instance. The other of Mr. Madison, whether a negative lodged with a majority of the States, even the smallest, could be more dangerous than the

qualified negative proposed to be lodged in a single Executive Magistrate, who must be taken from some one State.

Mr. Ellsworth did not think the clause as to originating money bills of any consequence, but as it was thought of consequence by some of the members from the larger States, he was willing it should stand. 480. August 8th.

Mr. Wilson, Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Madison¹ urged that it was of no advantage to the larger States and that it might be a dangerous source of contention between the two Houses. All the principal powers of the National Legislature had some relation to money. 482, 483. August 9th.

ROGER SHERMAN.

Mr. Sherman's plan for the Constitution which he drew up beforehand was to make changes in the articles of confederation. See also his report to the Connecticut Legislature.

In Convention June 1st, page 81, Mr. Sherman favored the election of one member by each of the State Legislatures.

June 7th, page 80, Mr. Sherman seconded Mr. Dickinson's motion that the members of the second branch should be elected by the individual Legislatures, observing that the particular States would thus become interested in supporting the National Government, and that a due harmony between the two Governments would be maintained. He admitted that the two ought to have separate and distinct jurisdictions, but that they ought to have a mutual interest in supporting each other.

June 7th, page 86, Mr. Sherman opposed elections by the people in districts, as not likely to produce such fit men as elections by the State Legislatures.

June 11th, page 101, the clause concerning the rule of suffrage in the National Legislature postponed on Saturday was resumed. Mr. Sherman proposed that the proportion of suffrage in the first branch should be according to the respective numbers of free inhabitants; and that in the second branch or Senate, each State should have one vote and no more. He said as the States would remain possessed of certain individual rights, each State ought to be able to protect itself, otherwise a few large States will rule the rest. The House of Lords in England he observed had certain particular rights under the Constitution, and hence they have an equal vote with the House of Commons that they may be able to defend their rights.

June 11th, page 102, Dr. Franklin's paper was read, in which he states on the authority of his colleague, Mr. Wilson, that the

¹It seems pretty clear that the joining of Mr. Ellsworth with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Madison in this statement is a clerical error. Probably Madison wrote Ellsworth by a slip of the pen and substituted Wilson. Mr. Ellsworth had said the day before that he was contented with the clause, although he thought it of no consequence.

present method of voting by States, was submitted to originally by Congress, under a conviction of its impropriety, inequality, and injustice. This appears in the words of their Resolution. It is of September 6th, 1774. The words are "Resolved that in determining questions in this Congress each Colony or province shall have one vote: the Congress not being possessed of or at present able to procure materials for ascertaining the importance of each Colony."

June 11th, the same day with his previous proposition, page 107, Mr. Sherman moved that a question be taken whether each State shall have one vote in the second branch. Everything, he said, depended on this. The smaller States would never agree to the plan on any other principle than an equality of suffrage in this branch. Mr. Ellsworth seconded the motion. On the question for allowing each State one vote in the second branch, lost five to six.

June 18th, page 120, the Committee of the Whole on Mr. Randolph's propositions reported that the members of the second branch of the National Legislature ought to be chosen by the individual Legislatures.

8. Resolved that the right of suffrage in the second branch of the National Legislature ought to be according to the rule established for the first. That was in substance the rule now existing for the House of Representatives.

June 14th, page 123, Mr. Patterson observed to the Convention that it was the wish of several deputations, particularly that of New Jersey, that further time might be allowed to contemplate the plan reported from the Committee of the Whole, and to digest one purely federal.

Hoped to have one ready tomorrow.

The Convention adjourned for that purpose.

June 15th, page 124, it was agreed to refer the plan to a Committee of the Whole, and in order to place the two plans in comparison to commit the other.

Mr. Madison adds that this plan had been concerted among the deputations or members thereof, from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and perhaps Mr. Martin from Maryland who made with them common cause on different principles. Connecticut and New York were against a departure from the principle of the Confederation, wishing rather to add a few new powers to Congress than to substitute a National Government.

The States of New Jersey and Delaware were opposed to a National Government because its patrons considered a proportional representation of the States as the basis of it. The eagerness displayed by the members opposed to a National Government from these different motives began now to produce serious anxiety for the result of the Convention. Mr. Dickinson said to Mr. Madison you see the consequence of pushing things too

far. Some of the members from the small States wish for two branches in the General Legislature, and are friends to a good National Government; but we would sooner submit to a foreign power than submit to be deprived of an equality of suffrage, in both branches of the Legislature, and thereby be thrown under the domination of the large States.

Mr. Patterson's report above referred to, was for the amendment of the articles of confederation by giving the Legislature chosen in the existing fashion, the States being equal therein, larger powers.

June 19th, page 162, on question whether Committee rise and report Randolph's plan rather than Patterson's, Connecticut voted *aye*.

June 20th, page 167, Mr. Lansing moved the powers of Legislation be vested in Congress. Mr. Sherman, page 178, seconded and supported Mr. Lansing's motion. He admitted two branches to be necessary in the State Legislatures, but saw no necessity for them in a Confederacy of States. The examples were all, of a single Council. Congress carried us thro' the war, and perhaps as well as any Government could have done. The complaints at present are not that the views of Congress are unwise or unfaithful, but that their powers are insufficient for the execution of their views. The National debt and the want of power somewhere to draw forth the National resources, are the great matters that press. All the States were sensible of the defect of power in Congress. He thought much might be said in apology for the failure of the State Legislatures to comply with the confederation. They were afraid of bearing too hard on the people, by accumulating taxes; no constitutional rule had been or could be observed in the quotas,—the accounts also were unsettled and every State supposed itself in advance, rather than in arrears. For want of a general system, taxes to a due amount had not been drawn from trade, which was the most convenient resource. As almost all the States had agreed to the recommendation of Congress on the subject of an impost, it appeared clearly that they were willing to trust Congress with power to draw a revenue from trade. There is no weight therefore in the argument drawn from a distrust of Congress, for money matters being the most important of all, if the people will trust them with power as to them, they will trust them with any other necessary powers. Congress indeed by the confederation have in fact the right of saying how much the people shall pay, and to what purpose it shall be applied; and this right was granted to them in the expectation that it would in all cases have its effect. If another branch were to be added to Congress to be chosen by the people, it would serve to embarrass. The people would not much interest themselves in the elections, a few designing men in the large districts would carry their points, and the people would have no

more confidence in their new representatives than in Congress. He saw no reason why the State Legislatures should be unfriendly, as had been suggested, to Congress. If they appoint Congress and approve of their measures, they would be rather favorable and partial to them. The disparity of the States in point of size he perceived was the main difficulty. But the large States had not yet suffered from the equality of votes enjoyed by the small ones. In all great and general points, the interests of all the States were the same. The State of Virginia, notwithstanding the equality of votes, ratified the Confederation without, or even proposing any alteration. Massachusetts also ratified without any material difficulty, etc. In none of the ratifications is the want of two branches noticed or complained of. To consolidate the States as some had proposed would dissolve our treaties with foreign nations, which had been formed with us as confederated States. He did not however suppose that the creation of two branches in the Legislature would have such an effect. If the difficulty on the subject of representation cannot be otherwise got over, he would agree to have two branches, and a proportional representation in one of them, provided each State had an equal voice in the other. This was necessary to secure the rights of the lesser States; otherwise three or four of the large States would rule the others as they please. Each State like each individual had its peculiar habits, usages and manners, which constituted its happiness. It would not therefore give to others a power over this happiness, any more than an individual would do, when he could avoid it.

June 20th, page 177, Connecticut voted to take up Mr. Lansing's motion, four ayes, six noes, one divided.

June 21st, page 181, Connecticut voted aye on motion that Legislature consist of two branches. Carried.

June 28th, page 233, on the motion that the seventh article should read that the rights of suffrage in the first branch ought to be according to the rule established by the Confederation, Mr. Sherman made the following speech: The question is not what rights naturally belong to men; but how they may be most equally and effectually guarded in Society. And if some give up more than others in order to obtain this end, there can be no room for complaint. To do otherwise, to require an equal concession from all, if it would create danger to the rights of some, would be sacrificing the end to the means. The rich man who enters into Society along with the poor man, gives up more than the poor man. Yet with an equal vote he is equally safe. Were he to have more votes than the poor man in proportion to his superior stake the rights of the poor man would immediately cease to be secure. This consideration prevailed when the articles of confederation were formed.

July 2nd, page 264, General Pinckney moved that a Committee

of one from each State be appointed to revise and report some compromise. Mr. Sherman said we are now at a full stop, and nobody he supposed meant that we should break up without doing something. A Committee he thought most likely to hit on some expedient.

Mr. Madison opposed the commitment.

July 2nd, page 269, the Committee elected by ballot, were Mr. Gerry, Mr. Ellsworth, Mr. Yates, Mr. Patterson, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Bedford, Mr. Martin, Mr. Mason, Mr. Davy, Mr. Rutledge, Mr. Baldwin.

Mr. Ellsworth went off Committee and Mr. Sherman went on, page 270, note. Mr. Madison states in the same note, a motion was made by Mr. Sherman in the Committee to the following effect "that each State should have an equal vote in the second branch; provided that no decision therein should prevail unless the majority of States concurring should also comprise a majority of the inhabitants of the United States." This motion was not much deliberated on nor approved in the Committee. A similar proviso had been proposed in the debates on the articles of confederation in 1777, to the articles giving certain powers to "nine States." It is to be observed that Mr. Madison was not a member of the Committee. The motion was probably the same made by Mr. Sherman in the Continental Congress when the articles of confederation were under discussion, as reported by John Adams. While Mr. Sherman may have thought fit to make this proposal as regards the second branch it is not likely that he expected to insist on it if his previous suggestion of an equal vote in one branch and representation according to population in the other were accepted, as it was accepted by the Committee and the Convention.

July 5th, page 277, Mr. Ellsworth said that he had not attended the proceedings of the Committee, but was ready to accede to the compromise they had reported. Some compromise was necessary; and he saw none more convenient or reasonable.

July 5th, page 289, on question whether clause relating to money bills should stand there were five ayes, three noes, three divided.

July 7th, page 290, on the question whether that vote should be entered in the affirmative there were nine ayes, two noes.

On the question "Shall the clause allowing each State one vote in the second branch, stand as part of the Report," Mr. Sherman said that he supposed that it was the wish of every one that some General Government should be established. An equal vote in the second branch would, he thought, be most likely to give it the necessary vigor. The small States have more vigor in their Governments than the large ones, the more influence therefore the large ones have, the weaker will be the Government. In the large States it will be the most difficult to collect the real and fair

sense of the people. Fallacy and undue influence will be practiced with most success: and improper men will most easily get into office. If they vote by States in the second branch, and each State has an equal vote, there must be always a majority of States as well as a majority of the people on the side of public measures, and the Government will have decision and efficacy. If this be not the case in the second branch there may be a majority of the States against public measures, and the difficulty of compelling them to abide by the public determination, will render the Government feebler than it has ever yet been.

July 9th, page 296, Mr. Sherman moved to refer the report apportioning the Representatives to a Committee of one from each State. Adopted.

July 9th, page 299, Mr. Sherman placed on Committee.

July 14th, page 338, Mr. Rutledge proposed to reconsider the two propositions touching the originating of money bills in the first and the equality of votes in the second branch.

Mr. Sherman was for the question on the whole at once. It was he said a conciliatory plan, it had been considered in all its parts, a great deal of time had been spent on it, and if any part should now be altered, it would be necessary to go over the whole ground again.

Afterward the reconsideration being agreed to, Mr. Sherman urged the equality of votes not so much as a security for the small States; as for the State Governments which could not be preserved unless they were represented and had a negative in the General Government. He had no objection to the members in the second branch voting per capita, as had been suggested by (Mr. Gerry).

July 14th, page 343, Mr. Ellsworth and Mr. Sherman both spoke. Mr. Ellsworth put two very pregnant questions, one to Wilson and one to Madison.

Mr. Sherman signified that his expectation was that the General Legislature would in some cases act on the federal principle, of requiring quotas. But he thought it ought to be empowered to carry their own plans into execution, if the States should fail to supply their respective quotas.

July 16th, page 344, a vote being taken on the agreeing to the whole report passed in the affirmative, five ayes, four noes, one divided. It will be observed that the plan did not command a majority of the entire Convention; but in accordance with what seems to have been the rule the vote of a State that was divided was treated as if it had not voted.

July 16th, page 347, there was a meeting of the members from the large States at which several members from the smaller States attended, but there seems to have been no result beyond conversation.

Sept. 5th, page 677, Gouverneur Morris moved to postpone the

clause concerning money bills. Mr. Sherman was for giving immediate ease to those who looked on this clause of great moment, and for trusting to their concurrence in other proper measures.

September 15th, page 756, the provisions in regard to amending the Constitution being taken up Mr. Sherman moved to annex to the end of the article a further proviso that no State shall without its consent be affected in its internal police, or deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

This was lost eight to three.

Mr. Sherman then moved to strike out article five, that authorizing amendments, altogether.

This was lost eight to two, one divided.

Gouverneur Morris then moved to annex a further proviso that no State, without its consent shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate, being a repetition of Mr. Sherman's motion without the provision as to internal police. Mr. Madison adds this motion being dictated by the circulating murmurs of the small States was agreed to without debate, no one opposing it, or on the question saying no.

It will be observed that this was the last of the Convention. No further action was taken, except the signature by the members. General Washington, Dr. Franklin, and one or two others made remarks.

THE PAINTED ROCKS OF LAKE CHELAN.

BY WILLIAM D. LYMAN.

THE Pacific Northwest, and in fact the Pacific coast in general, with the exception of Arizona, furnishes few evidences of the existence and works of prehistoric races. There seem never to have been in the Columbia Valley any native races comparable with those who wrought the marvellous pyramids and temples of Central America or the great irrigation systems and cliff-dwellings of Arizona and New Mexico. Yet bits here and there may be found, indicating crude attempts on the part of somebody, at some time, to realize those higher achievements of idealism and advancement which have always been the spur to man's growth.

Perhaps the most curious of these crude efforts at expression are the painted rocks of Lake Chelan. This lake is in Central Washington, and occupies a stupendous cañon in the Cascade Mountains.

This cañon, with its lateral cañons, constitutes the most remarkable group of cañons in the West. Not even the Grand Cañon of the Colorado surpasses it in vastness and grandeur; and Yosemite and Yellowstone, though having features of unique interest that can never be surpassed, do not compare in extent and variety with Chelan.

The cañons are about six thousand feet deep, hollowed out by stupendous seismic and glacial action from mountains of an average elevation of eight thousand feet, with many peaks of ten thousand feet and more. The lake itself is sixty-five miles long and reaches in places a depth of eighteen hundred feet. There are more glaciers in this area than in all the rest of the United States combined.

The rock of this region is granite and porphyry, with occasional lava. On the lake shore vast granite cliffs rise abruptly to an appalling height. In some places these mighty ramparts reach an almost perpendicular elevation of six or seven thousand feet. The wondrous hues of water, sky and forest, added to the bold and majestic outlines of mountains, impart to the lake an incomparable splendor of scenery.

The mellifluous word "Chelan" means, in the Indian tongue, "the beautiful water."

One can readily believe that the lake, with its accessories (and it may be added that both lake and tributary streams abound in fish, while all manner of game is found in the woods adjacent), was always an object of profound interest to the native races, probably of almost superstitious veneration.

Now, as to the painted rocks themselves. At a number of points along the shore the granite walls are white and smooth, presenting a surface most enticing to an artist. They evidently attracted the attention of some prehistoric and incipient Dürer or Rembrandt, for at several such places, notably near the head of the lake, there are groups of rude drawings. These are in some strong and durable red pigment, which must have been laid with remarkable skill and care to endure the passage of the several centuries which have evidently gone since they were placed there. The pictures themselves, while containing no artistic merit, properly speaking, do yet have a fidelity to the objects which they try to portray which is quite remarkable. These objects are men, tents, deer and wild goats. The wild goat (*Mazama*) is the most conspicuous animal of the Chelan cliffs. Some of the goats are drawn with surprising clearness.

As to the origin of these interesting objects, the Indians say that there is no tradition among them as to this, but that they have been there from time immemorial. Some

people have endeavored to sustain the hypothesis that the drawings were the work of early white men, perhaps the Hudson Bay trappers and *Voyageurs*, who were here early in the nineteenth century. But the opinion of the Indians above cited seems to disprove this. Also, it is seen that nearly all the drawings are at a level of about twenty-five feet above the present high water mark in the lake, and as the work of making them could have, in some cases, been done only from boats or rafts lying in the water, it becomes plain that the work of drawing was done when the lake was at a permanently higher level than now. There is geological evidence at the foot of the lake that a new channel for the outlet was formed a few centuries ago, by which the water level was lowered. The conclusion seems, therefore, good that these drawings were made by some race prior to the Indians and prior to that change in the level of the lake.

There is only one lamentable fact to add, and that is that alleged civilized beings, in the form of white men, have used these curious and interesting relics of antiquity for targets for their miserable rifles, and have shot away some of the best of them. Enough have been preserved, however, to be a source of deep interest and conjecture to the antiquarian.

By reason of the presence of these painted rocks, as well as its sublime scenery, its opportunities for recreation and sport, and its vast though undeveloped mineral wealth, Chelan, now so little known to the world at large, will be sure, within a few years, to become one of the most famous resorts of our country.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, called by the President, was held at the banking rooms of the Worcester County Institution for Savings, No. 13 Foster street, in Worcester, on November 20, 1902.

President SALISBURY said :—

Gentlemen:—You are called today to consider the loss of our associate and friend, JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE. His connection with our Society began with his election as a member at the annual meeting in October, 1883, and in 1888 he presented his first formal paper. He was chosen a Councillor in 1888, and prepared reports in 1893 and 1896. In April, 1902, he was appointed Biographer for the Society, and furnished two Biographical Sketches which will be printed in our Proceedings. The literary attainments of our friend, his punctilious exactness, his nobility of character, his courtesy and his cheerful readiness to be of service at all times to the Society and to the public endeared him to us and to his fellow-citizens in a marked degree. But it is my duty to allow others to pronounce his eulogy, and I will ask Mr. CHARLES A. CHASE, our Secretary, to express the sentiments of the Council on this occasion.

Jeremiah Evarts Greene, a member of the Council, of distinguished ancestry, a long-time citizen of Worcester, died at Plainfield, New Jersey, after a comparatively short illness, on Saturday, the 8th inst.

The Council desire to put on record their tribute to one of their number, whose loss they will ever deplore. His taste for the study of ethnology, his intimate acquaintance with the subject, his general and wide-spread knowledge, his sound learning, and his wise judgment made him a most valuable member of our body. His genial and amiable nature, his promptness of decision in matters under consideration, and his unfailing courtesy endeared him to us all.

In the wider field of the world, especially in Worcester, the city of his adoption, Mr. Greene filled a very large place. As editor of the leading newspaper of the city,—a journal founded by the founder of this Society, Isaiah Thomas,—for twenty-three years he advocated the cause of good politics and sound morals, with a force of argument and beauty of style which convinced and charmed the reader. Called to the management of the post-office of a city which was ever increasing in population, he appreciated the needs of the community and by his unremitting efforts secured the facilities which enabled him to make it a model for the whole country, while his noble nature endeared him to the large staff whom he always kept under the strict discipline which secured a success for which they shared with him in the credit. He had also rendered valuable service to the community by his influence as a member of a local Commission in securing the series of public parks, which are a peculiar feature of Worcester, the pride of its people; and his voice and pen were ever ready to denounce evil and to advocate what was good. The general feeling of grief which pervaded the community at the news of his death, evinced their appreciation of his merits and their own great loss.

To the relatives of our late associate the Council extends its deepest sympathy.

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., said :—

Mr. President:—I have given elsewhere¹ an estimate of Mr. Greene's character. Here, I am speaking to his intimate associates and may tell anecdotes of our friend.

¹ *Worcester Sunday Spy*, Nov. 9, 1902.

Thomas Arnold, the historian, writes, in substance, that an historical investigator and writer should not only aim to be accurate but should have enthusiasm for truth. Mr. Greene had that qualification for writing history in a high degree. When he has read papers at the meetings of our Society I have also been struck by the fact that the subjects which he selected to write about were often connected closely with his experience. Thus, when he spoke about the Santa Fé Trail we knew that he had trodden that path. When he discoursed about North American Indians we knew that he had been among them. For many years too he had been actively and prominently engaged in societies formed for promoting their interests. I remember saying once to the late General Armstrong of the Hampton School for Negroes and Indians that it seemed to me he would make an admirable United States Indian Commissioner.

Mr. Greene's modesty was very apparent. As he sat with us in the meetings of the Council he was commonly silent. I felt rebuked, perhaps because I am quick to speak, to see him wait long before giving an opinion. When he did speak his words were weighty.

Many instances occur to us of the manifestations of the highest moral qualities in Mr. Greene. I recall the indignation which he manifested and the disgrace which he felt, as a soldier, when any of his comrades showed greediness for pensions or office as a reward for services in the civil war and thus effaced the bloom of disinterestedness from the merit of their efforts to serve the country.

While he was editor of the *Worcester Spy* Mr. Blaine was nominated for the presidency. Mr. Greene could not conscientiously support him. It was interesting to me to see how well he succeeded in doing his duty to the proprietors of a Republican paper which supported the nomination, and yet avoided doing violence to his convictions.

Mr. Greene, as we all know, was very fond of dogs. His feelings were so tender regarding them, that, although I do not remember that he spoke publicly regarding the matter, he had a strong aversion to vivisection; a method of scientific investigation which most of us, with an over-weening interest perhaps in our kind, advocate, in spite

of reluctance. Mr. Greene felt a similar responsibility in regard to his dog that he would have felt for a child. He was taking a walk one day on Lincoln street, when his companion began to chase hens, and would not heed his command to desist. Thereupon he proceeded to whip his pet. A lady passing by remonstrated with him for what she considered cruelty. Mr. Greene replied that he respected her feelings, but was doing what he considered to be his duty, and finished the whipping. One morning, meeting him as he came down town, he told me that a favorite dog had died. He was a believer in cremation, and he said to me tenderly that he had put the remains of his little friend in his furnace and reduced them to ashes.

The memory of Mr. Greene will be very dear to men who have enjoyed his companionship; it will be an inspiration to his acquaintances and of great service in the communities where he has lived.

Attest:

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council held a special meeting, by call of the President, at No. 13 Foster street, on Monday, April 6, 1903, at 4 P. M.

President SALISBURY said :—

John Davis Washburn, our lamented associate, was elected a member of the Society in April, 1871, and at the annual meeting of the same year became one of the Council by his appointment as Recording Secretary, which office he held until his resignation in October, 1894. Since that time he continued in the Council by election, until his death, which occurred on Saturday evening, April 4, 1903.

His services to the Society have been important and long continued, and our proceedings have been much enriched and illuminated by his facile and eloquent contributions. Six reports of the Council were made by Mr. Washburn while acting as Recording Secretary, all of them of a high literary merit and expressed with elegance and grace. The duties of Recording Secretary he performed with impartial fidelity and scrupulous exactness, and his friendly kindness towards all members of the Society won for him their cordial regard.

His character, natural gifts, and attainments endeared him to his associates, and his long and faithful devotion to the Society received the constant recognition of its members.

The following minute was offered by the Recording Secretary, CHARLES A. CHASE :—

The Council is called upon today, by the death of the Hon. John Davis Washburn to lament the loss of a brilliant and loyal member. He rendered to our Society many years of valued service as Recording Secretary, an office which he only laid down to enter upon the service of the nation as its minister to a friendly republic across the sea. He continued to be a Councillor until the very last.

Besides his faithful clerical service, Mr. Washburn did considerable literary work for the Society which was of value ; and on the occasions when the Council or the Society met in a social way, his genial spirits and his brilliant conversation added greatly to the enjoyment of all present.

The varied events of his active life, during which he became conspicuous at home and abroad, will be rehearsed by others at the proper times and places. While the ill health against which he has serenely struggled during the past few years has prevented him from assisting in our deliberations, he has been with us in sympathy ; and we most deeply regret the ending of so many years of delightful association.

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN said :—

I am inclined to think, Mr. President, that there are many persons in Worcester who could not have told you, in recent years, whether Mr. Washburn were living or dead, so complete has been his seclusion.

Friends who have come closely in contact with him during the long season of his retirement, have, as we well know, been impressed by the gentleness of his spirit and the sweetness of his disposition.

As the violet gives forth unusual fragrance when crushed, so Mr. Washburn in his illness showed those genial qualities and that kindliness which do so much to preserve and add to the serenity of life.

Naturally, as I have understood, our associate was disinclined to strenuous action, although under the stimulus

of ambition, or for the love of accumulation or praise his exertions were often intense and prolonged. His constitutional languor was intensified by his disease, and the prizes which were within his reach in his enfeebled condition did not fascinate him.

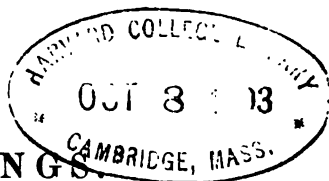
He preferred to enjoy the quiet of home life, and to give his time to congenial reading and friendly converse. With declining energy he found occupation and enjoyment in unexciting scenes, and in such gratifications of his literary taste as did not require much effort.

Further remarks in eulogy were made by NATHANIEL PAINE and EDWARD L. DAVIS, and the minute was adopted.

Attest :

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.



PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 29, 1903, AT THE HALL OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY IN BOSTON.

THE meeting was called to order by the President, Hon.
STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The following members were present :—

George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury,
Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis,
James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, Edward H. Hall,
Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Charles A. Chase,
Samuel S. Green, Henry W. Haynes, Andrew McF. Davis,
Horatio Rogers, Henry S. Nourse, Daniel Merriman, Wil-
liam B. Weeden, Reuben Colton, Henry H. Edes, James
Phinney Baxter, Charles P. Bowditch, Calvin Stebbins,
Rockwood Hoar, William DeLoss Love, William T. Forbes,
George H. Haynes, Charles L. Nichols, Waldo Lincoln,
Edward S. Morse, John Noble, Austin S. Garver, A.
Lawrence Rotch, Francis Blake, Samuel Utley, Edward H.
Gilbert, Benjamin T. Hill, Henry F. Jenks, Allen C.
Thomas, Alexander F. Chamberlain, William MacDonald,
Roger B. Merriman.

An abstract of the doings of the previous meeting
was read by the Recording Secretary, the full report
being in printed form and in the hands of members.

The report of the Council, prepared by NATHANIEL
PAINE, A.M., was next presented.

The report of the Librarian was read by Mr. EDMUND
M. BARTON.

It was voted that the full report of the Council be approved, and published in the proceedings of the meeting.

A memoir of Hon. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN was read by the Biographer, HENRY S. NOURSE, A.M. Before presenting the paper Mr. NOURSE said: "In beginning the duties of the office which has been assigned to me recently I do so with due diffidence. I should not have assumed the duties had I not been assured by the President and Council that no lengthy memoirs were required, and no lofty eulogy is expected. Whatever tributes I have to pay will be brief, relating to simple biographical and genealogical facts, and the relation of the deceased to this Society; and this of course is appropriate, because those associates who have been guilty of distinguished careers will have suffered sufficiently from the pens of numerous writers before our Proceedings can be published. Since I have been appointed, there has been but one death in the Society, Hon. John Davis Washburn."

The Recording Secretary read the list of nominations for membership. There were three vacancies, and the Council recommended for election the following named gentlemen:—

Anson Daniel Morse, LL.D., Professor of History at Amherst College.

Edward Gaylord Bourne, Ph.D., Professor of History at Yale University.

Rt. Rev. Alexander Hamilton Vinton, D.D., of Springfield, Bishop of Western Massachusetts.

The nominees were duly elected on separate ballots.

Prof. ALLEN C. THOMAS, of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, read some letters, &c., of John Hancock and Thomas Cushing.

Vice-President HOAR said :—

I make this communication in behalf of a friend in Worcester, Mr. James Green. Mr. Green is a very accurate and thorough investigator of any subject in which he is interested. He is a nephew of our late associate Dr. John Green, and the brother of our two valued associates, Mr. Samuel S. Green, and Dr. John Green of St. Louis. Mr. Green is very much interested in a matter to which he calls the attention of the Society, namely, the edition of Aristotle's *Musical Problems*, lately published in Belgium, with the Greek text on one page and a French translation opposite, and the musical commentary by the director of the Royal Conservatory in Brussels. Mr. Green calls attention to the fact that this work of Aristotle, so well edited by our associate, is the earliest publication of a scientific character, if not of any character, in regard to music, in existence; and he gives an account of the elucidation and illustration of that text by three scholars working together upon it. Mr. Green endeavored to find some student of music in the Society, who would present this paper with appropriate comments, but the only musician in the Society as far as I have been able to learn, who has any practical as well as theoretical knowledge of it, is the President. I understand the President, and he will correct me if I am wrong, once gave a musical entertainment in Spain to a very large and highly appreciative and highly pleased audience. I desire, therefore, to communicate this paper of Mr. James Green, with the book, to the Society, and ask that it may be referred to the Committee of Publication, and that the paper with such account of the book as may be added be published at their discretion in our Proceedings, and if the President shall be willing to illustrate it in any way from his own experience, that may also be added.

To the Honorable GEORGE F. HOAR,
Vice-President of the American Antiquarian Society.
Sir:—

May I have the pleasure of calling your attention, and that of the members of your Society, to an edition of Aristotle's "Musical Problems" lately published in Belgium,—the Greek text on one page and a French translation opposite, followed by Philological Notes by Dr. Johann C. Vollgraff, your learned Associate Member of the Antiquarian Society, and a Musical Commentary by M. François-Auguste Gevaert, Director of the Royal Conservatory of Brussels. The book contains nearly 450 pages, beautifully printed, in octavo, and was published at Ghent in three parts, in 1899, 1901 and 1903,—(Librairie Générale de Ad. Hoste, Éditeur.) Although your Society confines its official work chiefly to American antiquities, I know that you are interested also in classical antiquity.

The nineteenth section of Aristotle's "Problems," as you know, contains about fifty "Musical Problems," said by Professor Wagener to be "the oldest text known today which is especially devoted to music. The grammarian under the Roman Empire," he adds, "who copied this musical document in the general collection of the Aristotelian problems, apparently had no comprehension of what he was copying." That the musical problems were the work of Aristotle himself has been doubted by some scholars, but our present editors hold stoutly to the belief in Aristotle's authorship. The antiquity of the text, however, seems not to have been called into question. The manuscript appears to have suffered exceptionally in copying and to be full of errors of every sort. The present edition has been under study for a full generation.

It was in the winter of 1870–71 that Auguste Wagener, Professor of Greek at the University of Ghent and a devoted lover of music, called the book to the attention of M. Gevaert, the Inspector of the Academy of Music at Paris, who had left Paris at the time of the Siege and was then living temporarily at Ghent near the place of his birth; and suggested to M. Gevaert that they should study the book together,—"one of them a musician imbued with philology, and the other a philologist devoted to music." In March, 1871, the Commune was proclaimed at Paris and

the Opera remained closed, and M. Gevaert was soon afterward named Director of the Royal Conservatory of Brussels and Musical Conductor to the King of Belgium. He was a born musician, a baker's son who sang his tuneful dreams as he worked at his trade, and who won the Belgian "Prize of Rome" for musical composition, when only eighteen years old. He had written operas before he came to full age, had afterwards composed a dozen pieces for the musical stage, and was now writing a book on "The History and Theory of the Music of Antiquity." The duties of his new office were arduous at first, and all of his time left free from teaching at the Conservatory and leading the Orchestra was devoted to this book; so that it was nearly ten years from the time the plan was formed before M. Gevaert was free to undertake this new study. M. Wagener was also deeply occupied with the administration of the University of Ghent in addition to his professorial duties; but in 1881 the two friends got together again and plotted out their work. The first thing to do was to correct the Greek text which was manifestly corrupt and sometimes out of its proper sequence. This part of the work fell naturally to Professor Wagener. Then followed the translation into French by both the editors separately. Afterwards the special study of the musical side of the problems fell principally to M. Gevaert, who wanted to show the resemblances and the great differences between the old Hellenic music and that of modern Europeans. Hardly had the two professors begun their work when Wagener was elected to the Belgian Legislature and entered with enthusiasm upon his new parliamentary duties, without giving up his work at the University. This brought the projected book suddenly to an apparent end; and M. Gevaert occupied himself with other studies in preparation for another book,—"*La Mélopée Antique dans le Chant de l'Église Latine*,"—which was published in 1894.

Wagener had now left Parliament, but was still Professor and Administrator at the University of Ghent, and his health was a good deal broken. Again the two friends came together and agreed to go on with their common work. But at the close of their first consultation, Professor Wagener said with infinite sadness, "Really, my friend, I find

I am not strong enough to carry out my part of the work alone. I must have help. I have in my mind a young and very capable associate whom you know by name at least, M. Vollgraff, Professor at the University of Brussels. He is a philologist by profession, a strict grammarian, in every way the man that you need in case I disappear before the end of the work. You two together would complete the volume to perfection. Do you want me to bring him the next time I have business at Brussels?"

This new arrangement was made. M. Vollgraff gained the musician's sympathy at once. He was found to be a constant attendant at the concerts of the Conservatory, and a great admirer of Bach, Beethoven, Händel and Glück. The three friends worked together diligently for a few months, but Wagner had come into the work too late and was already passing away. His mind dwelt constantly on this book until January, 1896, when he was no longer allowed to see his friends. How well he had chosen his successor in the Greek Professor's part, the book bears eloquent testimony.

The three collaborators were Dutchmen. Johann Christoph Vollgraff was born at The Hague, in 1848. He studied six years at the University of Leyden, where he won his doctorate of classical philology in 1870. Later, he travelled in Italy, collating manuscripts of Aristophanes at Venice, and others at Ravenna and in the Vatican Library, and attending lectures in the German School of Archæology and the Museums of Rome. Afterwards he travelled in Greece. After teaching the Greek classics and Roman antiquities in Holland, he was a professor of Classical philology at the University of Brussels for twenty years, from 1883 to 1903. Now he has returned to his native Holland, and is lately become the successor of Dr. van Herwerden, his old instructor and friend, the eminent Greek scholar and lexicographer, in the chair of Greek letters and antiquities in the University of Utrecht. He is an Associate Member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, Corresponding Member of the Imperial German Archæological Institute, Member of the Philological Society of Constantinople, and of several Dutch societies. Besides coöperating with van Herwerden on an edition of the *Helena* of Euripides, he has published various pamphlets .

in the line of his studies, a list of some of which is here appended; but his time for the past twenty years has been spent chiefly in the lecture-room at the University.

JAMES GREEN.

Worcester, Massachusetts, April 29, 1903.

PROFESSOR VOLLGRAFF'S PUBLICATIONS.

Studia Palæographica.—Disputatio litteraria inauguralis. Lugduni Batavorum, 1870.

Greek Writers of Roman History. Some Reflections upon the Authorities of Plutarch and Applanus. Leyden, 1880.

L'essence et la méthode de la philologie classique. Discours prononcé à l'ouverture de son cours à l'Université de Bruxelles, le 14 Novembre, 1888.

M. Tullii Ciceronis pro M. Cælio Oratio ad iudices. Ad optimos codices denuo collatos recognovit I. C. Vollgraff. Accessit appendix critica. Lugduni Batavorum apud E. I. Brill, 1887.

Nekrolog von Dr. Hermann Müller-Strübing in Bursian's Jahresberichten. 1897.

Numerous critical studies and essays on Greek writers in the *Mnemosyne*, Review of classical philology. (Leyden.)

Papers read in the Royal Belgian Academy.

Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote.

A paper containing an explanation and introduction to the diary of Isaiah Thomas was read by BENJAMIN THOMAS HILL, A.B.

ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, A.M., of Cambridge presented a communication concerning "The Fund at Boston in New England," 1681.

A paper was presented by Rev. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE, Ph.D., of Hartford, upon "The Navigation of the Connecticut River."

SAMUEL S. GREEN, A.M., read a paper entitled, "Did Sir Thomas Browne write 'Fragment on Mummies?'"

In connection with this paper Senator HOAR remarked:

I would like, if there be time, to say a word or two for this paper. In spite of the question about its genuineness which Mr. Stephen, a very high authority, seems to settle very emphatically, I do not quite feel like giving up this

wonderful passage. I have for many years, probably for fifty years, deemed it one of the three or four finest examples of English prose, outside of the King James translation of the Bible, and with all the halo and hallucination gone, I still think that this obscure forger, if he forged this passage, is one of the greatest, and perhaps the greatest, single English writer of original English prose. Mr. Emerson thought so. That is, he thought that of the "Fragment." I remember in my boyhood hearing the late Charles C. Hazewell, who was one of our most learned and enthusiastic scholars, repeat this passage by heart. I could repeat it myself now. Mr. Green read only a small part of it. It occupies four pages in Wilkin's first edition. Now let me read what Mr. Green just read, with one or two sentences more. I will append the whole "Fragment" to the report of what I say.

Now, the evidence that the forger wrote that is, that when somebody said, "You wrote that yourself," he answered, "It is the first time anybody ever taxed me with it." Well, I think nobody has ever taxed me with writing Hamlet, but if I can get the credit of it I will make that answer.

Sir Thomas Browne is one of the great antiquaries of the world. There never was a man to whom antiquity was more, not only an object of curiosity, but an object of profound reverence, and the enthusiasm of whose soul was stirred by antiquity in history, literature, philosophy and science. As I said, I think this passage is one of the three or four greatest passages in all English literature, not counting what is found between the leaves of the Old and New Testaments, and I am very slow and reluctant to give it up.

Mr. President, if there be a little more time, I would like to read to the Society an account of the meeting in Gloucestershire, England, at the unveiling of a portrait of our late friend and associate, Mr. John Bellows.

I suppose nearly every member of the Society had the good fortune to meet Mr. Bellows when he was here, and all of us probably have seen the two interesting contributions which he made to our Proceedings. Mr. Bellows, soon after he went home, yielded to the exactions upon his slender physical strength of a life of incessant labor, largely spent in humane work. He was the representative of his denomination in all of their admirable work for all races that were desolate and oppressed in Europe. He took to his bed, and lay in his chamber for many weeks. His dwelling is on the Cotswold Hills, about four miles out of Gloucester, and not far from the famous scene of Falstaff and Justice Shallow in Shakespeare. Looking over the valley from his house he could see the towers of Gloucester and Worcester and Hereford and Tewksbury Abbey, and the scene of the great military operations which ended in the taking of Gloucester and the taking of Worcester in Charles II.'s time.

There was a meeting in Gloucester shortly after Mr. Bellows's death to unveil a painting which had been subscribed for by his friends to be placed in the Town Hall in Gloucester, and many eminent persons of the region around were present. The chair was taken by the Earl of Ducey, Lord Lieutenant of the County, who is a very eminent authority as a botanist, especially in the matter of trees and shrubs.

I move that this account of Mr. Bellows be referred to the Committee of Publication with authority to print it.

FRAGMENT ON MUMMIES.

[FROM A COPY IN THE HANDWRITING OF J. CROSSLEY, ESQ.¹]
Wilkin's Edition, Sir Thomas Browne's Works. London. William Pickering, 1835.

Wise Egypt, prodigal of her embalmments, wrapped up her princes and great commanders in aromatical folds, and,

¹ J. Crossley, Esq.] I have given this fragment on the authority of Mr. Crossley; but have not been able to find the vol. in the British Museum which contained it, nor could he inform me; having transcribed it himself in the Museum, but omitted to note the volume in which he met with it.

studiously extracting from corruptible bodies their corruption, ambitiously looked forward to immortality; from which vain-glory we have become acquainted with many remnants of the old world, who could discourse unto us of the great things of yore, and tell us strange tales of the sons of Misraim, and ancient braveries of Egypt. Wonderful indeed are the preserves of time, which openeth unto us mummies from crypts and pyramids, and mammoth bones from caverns and excavations; whereof man hath found the best preservation, appearing unto us in some sort fleshly, while beasts must be fain of an osseous continuance.

In what original this practice of the Egyptians had root, divers authors dispute; while some place the origin hereof in the desire to prevent the separation of the soul, by keeping the body untabified, and alluring the spiritual part to remain by sweet and precious odours. But all this was but fond inconsideration. The soul, having broken its * * * *, is not stayed by bands and cerecloths, nor to be recalled by Sabæan odours, but fleeth to the place of invisibles, the *ubi* of spirits, and needeth a surer than Hermes's seal to imprison it to its medicated trunk, which yet subsists anomalously in its indestructible case, and, like a widow looking for her husband, anxiously awaits its return.

* * * * *

Of Joseph it is said, that they embalmed him; and he was put in a coffin in Egypt. When the Scripture saith that the Egyptians mourned for him three score and ten days, some doubt may be made, from the practices as delivered by Herodotus, who saith that the time allowed for preserving the body and mourning was seventy days. Amongst the Rabbins, there is an old tradition, that Joseph's body was dried by smoke, and preserved in the river Nile, till the final departure of the children of Israel from Egypt, according to the Targum of Uzziel. Skichardus delivereth it as the opinion of R. Abraham Seba, that this was done in contempt of Egypt, as unworthy of the depositure of that great patriarch; also as a type of the infants who were drowned in that river, whereto Skichardus subjoineth that it was physically proper to prevent corruption. The Rabbins likewise idly dream

that these bones were carried away by Moses about a century after, when they departed into Egypt, though how a coffin could be preserved in that large river, so as to be found again, they are not agreed; and some fly after their manner to Schem-hamphorasch, which most will regard as vain babblings.

That mummy is medicinal, the Arabian Doctor Haly delivereth and divers confirm; but of the particular uses thereof, there is much discrepancy of opinion. While Hofmannus prescribes the same to epileptics, Johan de Muralto commends the use thereof to gouty persons; Bacon likewise extols it as a stiptic: and Junkenius considers it of efficacy to resolve coagulated blood. Meanwhile we hardly applaud Francis the First, of France, who always carried mummies with him as a panacea against all disorders; and were the efficacy thereof more clearly made out, scarce conceive the use thereof allowable in physic, exceeding the barbarities of Cambyzes, and turning old heroes unto unworthy potions. Shall Egypt lend out her ancients unto chirurgeons and apothecaries, and Cheops and Psammitticus be weighed unto us for drugs? Shall we eat of Chamnes and Amosis in electuaries and pills, and be cured by cannibal mixtures? Surely such diet is dismal vampirism; and exceeds in horror the black banquet of Domitian, not to be paralleled except in those Arabian feasts, wherein Ghoules feed horribly.

But the common opinion of the virtues of mummy bred great consumption thereof, and princes and great men contended for this strange panacea, wherein Jews dealt largely, manufacturing mummies from dead carcasses, and giving them the names of kings, while specifics were compounded from crosses and gibbet leavings. There wanted not a set of Arabians who counterfeited mummies so accurately, that it needed great skill to distinguish the false from the true. Queasy stomachs would hardly fancy the doubtful potion, wherein one might so easily swallow a cloud for his Juno, and defraud the fowls of the air while in conceit enjoying the conserves of Canopus.

* * * * *

Radzivil had a strange story of some mummies which he had stowed in seven chests, and was carrying on ship board from Egypt, when a priest on the mission, while at

his prayers, was tormented by two ethnic spectres or devils, a man and a woman, both black and horrible; and at the same time a great storm at sea, which threatened shipwreck, till at last they were enforced to pacify the enraged sea, and put those demons to flight by throwing their mummy freight overboard, and so with difficulty escaped. What credit the relation of the worthy person deserves, we leave unto others. Surely if true, these demons were Satan's emissaries, appearing in forms answerable unto Horus and Mompta, the old deities of Egypt, to delude unhappy men. For those dark caves and mummy repositories are Satan's abodes, wherein he speculates and rejoices on human vain-glory, and keeps those kings and conquerors, whom alive he bewitched, whole for that great day, when he will claim his own, and marshal the kings of Nilus and Thebes in sad procession unto the pit.

Death, that fatal necessity which so many would overlook, or blinkingly survey, the old Egyptians held continually before their eyes. Their embalmed ancestors they carried about at their banquets, as holding them still a part of their families, and not thrusting them from their places at feasts. They wanted not likewise a sad preacher at their tables to admonish them daily of death, surely an unnecessary discourse while they banqueted in sepulchres. Whether this were not making too much of death, as tending to assuefaction, some reason there is to doubt, but certain it is that such practices would hardly be embraced by our modern gourmands who like not to look on faces of *morta*, or to be elbowed by mummies.

Yet in those huge structures and pyramidal immensities, of the builders whereof so little is known, they seemed not so much to raise sepulchres or temples to death, as to contemn and disdain it, astonishing heaven with their audacities, and looking forward with delight to their interment in those eternal piles. Of their living habitations they made little account, conceiving of them but as *hospitia*, or inns, while they adorned the sepulchres of the dead, and planting thereon lasting bases, defied the crumbling touches of time and the misty vaporousness of oblivion. Yet all were but Babel vanities. Time sadly overcometh all things, and is now dominant, and sitteth

upon a sphinx, and looketh unto Memphis and old Thebes, while his sister Oblivion reclineth semisomnous on a pyramid, gloriously triumphing, making puzzles of Titanian erections, and turning old glories into dreams. History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveller as he paceth amazedly through those deserts asketh of her, who builded them? and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not.

Egypt itself is now become the land of obliviousness and doteth. Her ancient civility is gone, and her glory hath vanished as a phantasma. Her youthful days are over, and her face has become wrinkled and tetrick. She poreth not upon the heavens, astronomy is dead unto her, and knowledge maketh other cycles. Canopus is afar off, Memnon resoundeth not to the sun, and Nilus heareth strange voices. Her monuments are but hieroglyphically sempiternal. Osiris and Anubis, her averruncous deities, have departed, while Orus yet remains dimly shadowing the principle of vicissitude and the effluxion of things. but receiveth little oblation.

* * * * *

Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN added :—

I want to second Mr. Hoar's motion. In this connection I cannot help describing to you a visit that I made in the family of John Bellows last summer. His widow, youngest son and one of his daughters met the little party to which I belonged at the station in Gloucester, and drove us to the beautifully situated home of which Mr. Hoar has spoken. There is an admirable description of the very interesting views which are obtainable from all sides of the house in the paper which Mr. Bellows contributed to our Proceedings, giving the particulars of a trip which he and Mr. Hoar made together in Dean Forest. That paper illustrates, too, that acute sensitiveness to the beauties of nature, equally with the example which Mr. Hoar has given. I was charmed by the atmosphere of the family of Mrs. Bellows, which consisted of the widow and several grown up children. It is a family which is deeply interested in the life of the Society of Friends.

The inmates are all devoted members of that small but interesting body, and the air which pervaded the house was one of unobtrusive piety, mingled with the most cordial hospitality. The pleasant way in which Mrs. Bellows spoke of the enjoyment of her visit and that of John Bellows to this country makes me feel that she would be unwilling that I should fail to take this opportunity to bring a message of greeting to all of you. It was evident that association with members of this Society gave both of them much pleasure. The family took me the first evening that I reached Upton Knoll, its residence, to a Roman camp not far from the house. An incident of interest was that when the family horse was about to go up one of the hills which prevailed, the carriage was always emptied, and we all walked up the hill. That incident was repeated every time we used the horse during the two or three days that our party was in Mrs. Bellows's house. Mr. Hoar has spoken of the earnestness of the convictions of John Bellows. While Mrs. Bellows was showing us the interior of the Cathedral at Gloucester she gave me what will seem to some persons an extreme example of this trait. She said that her husband had never been inside of the Cathedral. It would have been necessary had he gone in to have taken off his hat, and as a consistent member of the Society of Friends he felt that he could not do that. I was taken to the great printing establishment which John Bellows had in Gloucester, and which the family still conducts. I was taken into the cellar and shown a piece of Roman wall which was found in excavating the cellar and was allowed to remain. Perhaps it was that discovery which developed the great interest in Roman antiquities which John Bellows had, and which made him a leading authority in England in regard to Roman antiquities in that country. I was pleased to see that one of his sons was seated in the printing office with a young Frenchman by his side, and

that they were going over the little French pocket dictionary which is so famous, word by word, to make such changes and additions as were necessary, in bringing out a new edition. They told me it could no longer be a pocket dictionary, but that they were trying to make it a perfect dictionary. Mr. Bellows, as I have learned since our meeting, had recently spent several months in Paris in improving the text of the new edition. Another son of our late associate was seated in another room in this printing house with a young German by his side, and they were working on what they meant to be a compendious little German dictionary. The whole visit in the Bellows family was delightful, and the courtesy of its inmates will never be forgotten.

In regard to my short paper, I wish to say that it is a great pleasure to me to have been the means of bringing out the interesting remarks of our beloved associate, Senator Hoar. I have only to remind you that the Fragment from which Mr. Hoar has read so large a portion is, as stated in the paper, to be found only in the earlier edition of Wilkin's work. That was issued in 1835. I have the later edition in my library. I have been trying for some time to get the earlier edition in England, but only succeeded after reading my paper. I should advise people who have the earlier edition to treasure it.

It was moved and seconded that the communications of Senator HOAR and Mr. GREEN in regard to John Bellows be referred to the Committee of Publication, and that a vote of thanks be given Mr. JAMES GREEN for his communication in regard to this valuable gift from the author.

Mr. CHARLES P. BOWDITCH presented his report as a

delegate to the Société Internationale des Américanistes, as follows :—

28 State Street, Boston, Mass.,
October 28th, 1902.

Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY,
President American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.

Sir :

I beg to report that I attended the Congress of the Société Internationale des Américanistes, as a delegate of the American Antiquarian Society from Tuesday, October 21st, to Saturday, October 25th.

The meeting was largely attended by members and delegates from many foreign countries and from the United States. Questions of interest in archæology, ethnology, linguistics, folk-lore and kindred subjects, were presented in valuable papers and were discussed by those present. Most of the papers were read in the English language, although French is the official language of the Society. The interest and enthusiasm manifested by the members and delegates clearly showed the advantage of such meetings as this.

Very respectfully yours,

CHARLES P. BOWDITCH,
Delegate of the American Antiquarian Society
to the
Congress of the Société Internationale des
Américanistes.

It was voted that the various papers and communications be referred to the Committee of Publication, to be published in the Proceedings of the meeting.

After the meeting was dissolved, many of the members lunched together at Hotel Somerset.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE original By-Laws of the American Antiquarian Society, adopted in October, 1812, provided that there be three meetings each year; viz. one in Boston on the 22d day of December, and when the same shall fall on the Sabbath, then the day after; one in Boston on the first Wednesday in June; and one in Worcester on the Wednesday next after the fourth Tuesday in September. The annual meeting was fixed for the 22d of December, at which time a "public oration" was to be delivered by some person appointed by the Society.

This was undoubtedly the origin of the present reports of the Council.

The first of these orations that appears in the printed Proceedings of the Society was delivered in October, 1813, by "William Jenks, A.M., S.A.S., pastor of a church in Bath, and Professor of Oriental Languages, etc., in Bowdoin College, Maine." Fifty years later Dr. Jenks again delivered an oration before the Society.

The addresses of Dr. Abiel Holmes in 1814, and of William Paine, M.D. (first Vice-President), in 1815, were orations, rather than reports of the Council. It is worthy of note that on the occasion of the address by Dr. Paine at Boston, the members were escorted to the place of meeting by the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company.

The first report of the Council to the Society was made by President Isaiah Thomas in October, 1814, and in January, 1818, Oliver Fisk made a brief address, which may properly be considered as a communication from the Council.

The first annual report of the Council, as such, that appears in the printed Proceedings, was made by Rejoice Newton and Samuel Jennison in October, 1821, and the first semi-annual report of the Council was made by William Lincoln, and printed in the Proceedings of May, 1839. Since that year the Council reports have been presented with substantial regularity. In the early days of the Society, these reports were confined to the consideration of the ordinary affairs of the Society and its needs. It was not till October, 1853, that the present custom of presenting as a part of the report of the Council, communications upon antiquarian or historical subjects, came in vogue. At that time Edward E. Hale, D.D., after the usual report upon the affairs of the Society, spoke of the recent discoveries in the Polar Sea by Commander McClure of the English ship *Investigator*. The writer of this report will follow the earlier custom, and confine his remarks to the general affairs of the Society and its collections.

The report of the Librarian, which forms a part of the report of the Council, will give such information in regard to that department of the Society's work as he thinks desirable, and also a list of the givers and gifts of the past six months.

Since the annual meeting in October, by direction of the Committee on the Library, the portraits in oil of past Presidents of the Society, and those of Librarians Baldwin and Haven, have been cleaned and renovated and brought together in the office of the Librarian, where they greatly improve the general appearance of that room, and are seen to greater advantage, the light being so much better than in the main hall, where most of the portraits have heretofore been hung. It is much to be regretted that the collection of portraits of our Presidents lacks that of Edward Everett, President 1841-1853.

The constant additions being made to the Society's collections bring with them some embarrassment, as the

capacity of our building is greatly taxed to find room for them. The Library Committee are most forcibly reminded that at no distant day it will be necessary to increase the size of our building, or to decline contributions so generously offered us. The newspaper department especially has outgrown the room provided for it; its shelves are crowded with the bound volumes, and unbound papers are piled upon the tables and floor. It seems absolutely necessary that some new arrangement should be made if we continue to receive all newspapers that are offered us. Perhaps it may be well to reduce the number of papers to be bound, selecting for that purpose only those that seem to be of the greatest use and value. This department of our library is in constant use by historical students, who visit our rooms for the purpose, and many calls are made from all parts of the country for information only to be found in the newspapers of the past.

The sale of the library of the late William H. Whitmore at Boston in November last, at which twenty-one mezzotint portraits engraved by Peter Pelham, and one by John Singleton Copley, sold for about \$1,500, caused the writer to make an examination of the portfolios of engravings in the possession of the Antiquarian Society.¹ He was pleased to find that of these, four of the Pelham portraits sold in the Whitmore sale, and the engraving by Copley were in our library. These five prints, viz. Rev. Benj. Colman, D.D., Rev. Timothy Cutler, D.D.,

¹ Peter Pelham was an Englishman, who came to America about 1726, and was the first artist of any skill who executed portraits on copper or steel in New England. He was a painter as well as an engraver, and his first mezzotint portrait after his arrival was one of Cotton Mather in 1727, the original of which is, without much doubt, that in the possession of the Antiquarian Society. Another portrait painted and engraved by him was that of Rev. John Moorhead, minister at Boston; this was engraved in 1731. He also engraved portraits after Smibert of Rev. Benj. Colman, D.D., and Rev. Joseph Sewall, D.D. In 1734 Pelham advertised himself as a teacher of reading, writing, painting and dancing. Henry Pelham, a stepson, was also an engraver of considerable skill, and the Society have his map of "Boston and vicinity, 1775," which is very rare.

Thomas Hollis, Thomas Prince, by Pelham, and Rev. William Welsted, by J. S. Copley, sold for nearly \$600. The Society have five of the Pelham mezzotints not in the Whitmore sale; viz. Sir William Pepperell, A.M. (1747), and Rev. Joseph Sewall, D.D. (1735), after paintings by Smibert, and Rev. Charles Brockwell, A.M. (1750), Mathew Byles, A.M., V.D.M., and Rev. Henry Caner, A.M.

With the approval of the Council, "The Timothy Bigelow Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution" are to place a bronze tablet on the granite post at the southeast corner of the Society's grounds to mark the location of the building in which President John Adams taught school in 1755-58. There has been much uncertainty as to the location of the school-house, but the ladies of the Bigelow Chapter seem to have finally solved the problem as to this historic spot, and will designate it by a suitable inscription on an artistic tablet.¹

The Council has lately received information from the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington that Dr. J. H. Trumbull's Natick-English and English-Natick Dictionary is nearing completion. It has been in the hands of the Public Printer since May, 1900, but "by reason of the technical character of the matter, and unforeseen difficulties in proof-reading," has been unexpectedly delayed. This important work, which has been awaited with great interest by those interested in the Indian languages, has an introduction by our associate, Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale.

In the report of the Council for April, 1873, the writer made brief allusion to the large and valuable collection of manuscripts owned by the Society, and suggested the importance of having a catalogue of these treasures prepared for the information of members. Since then a brief list

¹ The tablet was placed in position with appropriate ceremonies on Saturday, May 23, on which occasion addresses were made by Hon. George F. Hoar, Hon. Charles Francis Adams and Dr. G. Stanley Hall, members of the American Antiquarian Society.

of some of the more important has been prepared, and is of some help, but the writer believes that a card catalogue giving more in detail the contents of the various volumes, as well as descriptions of single manuscripts of historical interest, should be made, that the collection may be more available to the student.

At the Lenox Library department of the New York Public Library, "a separate title is made for every letter or document under the writer's name, or if a document, under the name of the official body by which it is issued." In the library of Congress a more elaborate or detailed plan has been adopted; all manuscripts are classified with reference to the subject treated, and one card made for each group. Some plan might be adopted more applicable to our collection than either of these; but of the importance and necessity of *some* catalogue there can be no question.

It is proposed in this report to speak more at length of this department of the Society's collections, with the view of bringing to the attention of members its real value as an aid to historical investigations.

The earliest manuscripts in our library are two richly illuminated missals; one, supposed to have been written early in the 14th century, is a small volume with designs in gold and colors, and another is a Persian tale or romance, with gilt border to each page, and several highly colored illustrations. The wooden covers of this volume are ornamented both inside and out with representations of men and women, birds and reptiles, all in brilliant colors. A folio volume of the Koran in manuscript is also one of the attractions in the show-case in the main hall.

From our collection of manuscripts there have been printed, under direction of the Committee of Publication :

"The Diary of John Hull, Mint Master and Treasurer of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," with a memoir by Samuel Jennison and notes by Edward E. Hale. *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. III.

"A short discourse of a Voyage made in ye years of our lord 1618. to ye late discovered Countrey of Greenland; and a briefe discription of ye same countrie, and ye Commodities yer raised to ye Adventurers."

This was published by the Antiquarian Society in Vol. IV. of *Archæologia Americana*, with an introduction and notes by Samuel F. Haven, LL.D. Fifty copies were also printed in separate form.

Note Book kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq., Lawyer, in Boston, Massachusetts Bay, from June 27, 1688, to July 29, 1641. Edited by Edward Everett Hale. With a sketch of the life of Lechford by J. H. Trumbull. *Archæologia Americana*, Vol. VII.

The Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, 1829-1835, with an introduction and notes by Nathaniel Paine, Worcester, 1901.¹

THE MATHER MANUSCRIPTS.

These manuscripts being among the oldest and rarest in the Society's archives, may properly first claim attention. In the diary of Isaiah Thomas, our first President, are these entries in regard to their coming into possession of the Antiquarian Society:

Nov. 11, 1814. "Purchased the remains of the old library of the Mathers, which had belonged to Drs. Increase and Samuel Mather. This is unquestionably the oldest in New England. The remains are between 600 and 700 volumes. Worked hard all day with Lawrence and other assistance in packing and removing it."

Nov. 15. "The Mather library came up from Boston and was unpacked."

Nov. 28. "Have been engaged in taking a catalogue and putting the books in order of the Mather library for the last eight days."

Dec. 26. "Still at work on the Mather library very assiduously; have been only to bank and church for a month past. Have got through with the bound books, and am now engaged on the manuscripts."

From the large number of these found in the collection, a few only can be selected for the limited space allowed this report.

¹ Among other works of Mr. Baldwin in manuscript are two volumes containing complete indexes to Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts and to Mather's "Magnalia." Also four volumes of a History of Sutton, Mass., four volumes of Epitaphs, etc. Two volumes of letters to Mr. Baldwin, among which are letters from John Quincy Adams, George Bancroft, Alden Bradford, Lewis Cass, John Davis, S. G. Drake, Edward Everett, Rev. Dr. W. Jenks, Dr. T. M. Harris, Levi Lincoln, Jared Sparks, Charles Sumner, Thos. L. Winthrop, and other prominent men of the time.

We are fortunate enough to have the original draught of the "Platform of Church Discipline," by Ralph Partridge, and the revised copy in the handwriting of Richard Mather, from which the document, as approved by the Synod was printed; these manuscripts are in good condition, considering they were written more than two hundred and fifty years ago.

(In our library there is also a copy of the *first edition* of the "Platform of Church Discipline," printed at Boston by Samuel Green, 1649, which has the autograph of Increase Mather on the title page).

Other manuscripts of Richard Mather are :

"An Answer of y^e Elders to certayne doubts and objections ag^t sundry passages in y^e 'Platform' of discipline' agreed upon by y^e late Synod." Oct. 26, 1651.

"Answers to Arguments for the Government of the Church to be in the hands of the People." 1644.

"Observations and Arguments respecting the Government of Christian Churches." About 1650.

"Answers to the twenty-one questions from the General Court as Hartford to the General Court at Boston." 1657.

"Answer to the objections against the Imposition of hands in Ordination." 1635.

There is also a large number of his manuscript sermons.

INCREASE MATHER.

One of the most valuable and interesting manuscripts of Increase Mather is his autobiography written for his children. It is preceded by the following letter to his children, which I take from a copy made from the original by our late esteemed librarian, Samuel F. Haven, LL.D. :

TO MY CHILDREN:

Dear Children :—You are all of you so many parts of my life, and dearer to me y^e all things which I enjoy in this world. Wee must not live together long here below, but if wee shall meet in Heaven to be forever with the Lord, that's happiness enough. I am not altogether without hope concerning my sure interest in Christ.

I have thought y^e y^e relation of what y^e Lord has done for y^e Father, and y^e wonderful experience w^h he has had of God's faithfulness

towards him might be a means to cause you to give y^e selves entirely to y^e Lord Jesus and to endeavor to walk wth God. If you live to him here you shall live with him in another and better world.

The autobiography was copied several years ago by Rev. Abijah P. Marvin with a view to publication, but it will require careful revision and comparison before it is printed. Undoubtedly it would prove an interesting publication, and it is hoped that the time may come when the funds of the Society will permit its publication.

A few titles are given to show the general character of the collection :

"Fatherly Kindness from God calling for Dutifull Carriagees from Men." 1688.

"Dr. Increase Mather's Testimony against several profane and Superstitious Customs prevalent in New England." (Written when he was President of Harvard College, and Printed in 1687).

Contained in fifteen or sixteen volumes of interleaved Almanacs is the diary of Increase Mather for the years 1660, 1668, 1693, 1695, 1696 to 1698, 1702, 1704 to 1706, 1717 and 1721. The Almanacs used are of various dates from 1660 to 1721, and include Rider's British Merlin, 1660, and Tully's (various dates), New England, New England Kalendar, Kalendarium Nov-Anglicanum, and others. Two of the diaries are in small volumes without the letter-press, and some of them are incomplete.

COTTON MATHER.

The sermons, letters and other papers in the handwriting of Cotton Mather in our collection comprise the larger part of the manuscripts of this remarkable family. A few only can be mentioned here :

"The Ancient Gospel." 26 d. 6 m. 1688.

"Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob." 1688.

"Seth, and Methuselah and Noah." 1688.

"Gideon, and Jephthah and Sampson." 1688.

"The Mystery of Providence." 1689.

"On a Day of Prayer at Lyn to stop the plague of Quakerism." 1694.

"Enquiry what are the evils which have provoked the Lord to bring his judgments on New England."

"The Observations and Reflections of the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather concerning Witchcraft." In a letter to Rev. John Cotton, Aug. 5, 1692.

"The Best of Blessings,—Real and Vital Piety described and assisted in six brief essays on the Thessalonian."

"O' Lord before the Ecclesiastical Court."

"O' Lord Before the Political Court."

"One Among the Myrtle trees. A Brief & Plain Essay on Good Services to be done by people in low stations."

"The New Heavens Opened."

"Where to find Gog and Magog."

"The New Earth Surveyed."

"When shall those Things be? When the Grand Revolution to be look'd for!"

Five "Sacramental Discourses on the name of y^e Lord Jesus Christ." 1689.

"A Day of Prayer Kept by the North Church for Direction about y^e calling of a Minister." 2 d. 8 m. 1717.

"Triparadisus. Essays on, I. The paradise of the old world enriched with some instructive illustrations on the Sacred Geography. II. The Paradise of Departed Spirits fortify'd with well attested Relations to Demonstrate as well as illustrate the state of such. III. The Paradise of the New Earth under the Influences of the New Heavens."

"A Declaration of the Oppressed Brethren in the South part of Boston."

"Letter to the Brethren of the Church at New Haven, 20th 4 m. 1715."

"Letter proposing an address to the new King." 1715. (Geo. I.)

"Letter respecting the appointing of a Chaplain at the Castle." Nov. 7, 1716.

"Letter concerning the call of Mr. Fisk to the New South Church, Boston."

One entitled "A Brand Pluck'd out of the Burning," is an account of Mercy Short, one of those said to have been afflicted with witchcraft in 1692. This was followed by the story of Margaret Rule, with the title, "Another Brand Pluck't out of the Burning," an account of which appears in "More Wonders of the Invisible World," by Robert Calef. London, 1770.

"The Angel of Bethesda." Some remarks on the grand causes of sickness about 1724; pp. 418. It is a treatise on diseases and their remedies. Dr. Joseph Sargent, in his report of the Council, April, 1874, gives a full and

interesting account of this curious manuscript. Our late librarian, Samuel F. Haven, also speaks of it in his report of the same date.

"*Problema Theologicum.*" An Essay Concerning the Happy State expected for the Church upon Earth, endeavoring to Demonstrate that the Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ will be att the Beginning of that Happy State, with some Thoughts upon the Character and Approaches to it. In a Letter to Rev. Nicholas Noyes in Salem, Dec. 25, 1703."

In 1717, Jan. 18, he writes: "I have now a charity school erected for the instruction of Negros and Indians. Whereof I am at the sole expense, God prosper it."

There are in whole, or in part, nine of the diaries of Cotton Mather in the library of the Antiquarian Society for the years 1692 (in part), 1696, 1699, 1703, 1709, 1711, 1713, 1716 (in part), 1717. The Massachusetts Historical Society has the diaries for 1681, 1683, 1685, 1686, 1692 (in part), 1693, 1697, 1700, 1701, 1702, 1705, 1706, 1718 (in part), 1721 and 1724, twenty-five in all. The entries are in many cases very brief and often undecipherable.

Heads of sermons, various dates—1678–1723. On the inside of cover to the volume for 1723 is this memorandum: "Su. Dec. 16, 1723. I find I have married 946 couples."

There is a copy of an original catalogue of Dr. Cotton Mather's Library. Also of that part purchased by Isaiah Thomas and presented to the American Antiquarian Society, and the remains of the Mather Library purchased by Isaiah Thomas.

There are over two hundred letters to various persons.

SAMUEL MATHER.

There are a number of manuscripts of Rev. Samuel Mather, 1726–1771, most of which are sermons of no special interest now. There is a volume entitled "An Essay on Money and Trade," in the form of a letter "To

the Publishers of the *Weekly Rehearsal*," a journal published in Boston 1733 to 1735. It is a communication of three quarto pages unsigned, but evidently in the handwriting of Mather. The letter begins as follows :

"If you will please to give the Public a few Facts, which I am about to offer, referring to Money and Trade, I cannot but think that the sentiments of many concerning them will be rectified."

President Thomas has written on the back of the letter :

"Essay on Money and Trade written for The *Rehearsal*, a weekly journal published in Boston 1733 to 1735," and Librarian C. C. Baldwin has added the words, "By Sam Mather."¹

Other volumes are "Collections Miscellana." 1723. pp. 610 and an index.

"Disquisitions concerning the Most Holy Duty in which it is endeavored to communicate the Scriptural Doctrine concerning God and His manifestations to His Intelligent Creatures," etc. 12 chapters.

"The Song, the very Song of Solomon Himself, the Prince of Peace, or an Honest attempt to translate and explain the same with desirable Truth and Fidelity." By Samuel Mather, D.D.

"Scriptural Philosophy, or An Attempt to show that the Right Principles of Natural Philosophy are contained in Sacred writings." By one of the Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Massachusetts Commonwealth.

A letter, dated Fort Edward, Jan. 18, 1761 :

"To the Rev. Mr. Mather in Boston," a postscript to which reads : "Tell the doctor that living in the country in the Winter is better for a Man's health than all his Physick."

"A Disquisition concerning God and his Manifestations to His Intelligent Creatures according to the Holy Scriptures."

There are several letters written to Samuel Mather, and with them is one to "Rev. Mr. Mather," Nov., 1759, in regard to the relief of those who were sufferers by the fire, which is signed by Joshua Henshaw, Wm. Jackson, Thos. Cushing, Samuel Howes, John Scollay, Benj. Austin, and A. Oliver, Jr.

¹ A search in the volume of *The Weekly Rehearsal* in the library of the Antiquarian Society fails to show that Mather's letter was ever published there. The volume appears to be nearly complete from Oct. 4, 1731, to Aug. 11, 1737, the numbers missing being those for April 24, 1732, Jan. 3 and Sept. 16, 1734, and all after Aug. 11, 1737.

In the collection is the following letter from a member of this illustrious family, which would seem to indicate that the writer did not inherit the ability of his ancestors. It is addressed "To the Rev. Mr. Samuel Mather, at Boston in New England, Living near the old North meeting house," and is dated, "Lying at the Downs on Board his Majesty's Bomb Carkas, Sept 23 1761."

Honoured Sir and Madam, thro the favor of Heaven I am in Good Health as I Hope Both you and the Rest of our Family. I Desire that my Dutyfull Regards may be Presented to my uncles and aunts & Likewise my Honoured Parents, my Kind Love to my Bretheren & Sisters & all that think it worth their while to ask after me. I have Bean on Board of this Bomb Ship this two years & Have not Bean on Shore yet.

Capt. Edwards & Capt Caleb Prince came into the Downs ye 22^d I had Liberty from our Lient. to go on Board of Her where Capt Prince used me Very Kindly. He gave me so much Sugar and Rum as the Capt. would let me Bring on Board which was two Gallons of Rum if it should come to my chance ever to meet with Capt. Edwards I would Beat him so that he Should not ever Be able to go on Board of any ship again & if I should get on shore in England & see him I would shoot him for dead.

I Red for the newspapers & magazine that my unkle was Lient Governour of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. I Have no more to say at Present.

But still Remain your loving son &
Humble Servant, till death

INCREASE MATHER.¹

THE CURWEN PAPERS.

These papers, contained in six folio volumes, consist of over nine hundred letters and documents, written by or to some of the Corwin or Curwen family, or are in some way connected with Salem history.

Capt. George Corwin, or Curwen, the first of the family to settle in New England, came to Salem in 1638.

¹ Increase Mather was son of Samuel (son of Cotton) and Hannah Hutchinson (sister of Gov. Hutchinson) Mather. Little is known of him, save that he was born in 1741 and died in 1761, two years after the above letter was written.

He married Elizabeth Burk, a widow, and a daughter of Gov. Edward Winslow.

Jonathan Curwen was a member of the Province Council and Judge of the Supreme Court of the Province. His correspondence dates back to 1653.

Samuel Curwen was a distinguished American citizen and a loyalist of the Revolution, a graduate of Harvard University in 1735. In 1744 he was a captain under Sir William Pepperrell in the expedition to Louisburg; a Judge of the Admiralty Court; and went to England at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War in 1775, but returned to Salem in 1784. He was one of the addressers to Gov. Hutchinson in June, 1774. He died at Salem in 1802. While in England he kept a journal containing much valuable information about the American loyalists. This has been published, and a copy in an 8^o volume is in the library of the Antiquarian Society.

Among the letters is one of Rev. John Sherman to Rev. John Eliot, 1658, and one of Rev. John Davenport of New Haven to "Parson Eliot and the Brethren of the Church at Roxbury, no date, but probably about 1668." Other papers are a certificate of the ordination of Rev. John Sparhawk, "son of the late Mr. Sparhawk of Bristol," as minister to the First Parish of Salem, December, 1736, and other documents relating to that parish; also several letters written and signed by Mr. Sparhawk.

There are also letters of Paul Dudley, Chief Justice of Massachusetts, William Stoughton, Rev. Joseph Sewall, Samuel Sewall, and other men of note.

THE CRAIGIE PAPERS.

They consist in part of letters written to Andrew Craigie, numbering between five and six hundred, and are in three folio volumes. They are mostly business communications to Andrew Craigie, who was Apothecary General of the

Northern Department of the Revolutionary Army at the commencement of the Revolutionary War.

The Craigie manuscripts came to the Antiquarian Society through our late honored librarian, Samuel Foster Haven, LL.D., whose mother was a daughter of Mrs. Bossenger Foster, a sister of Andrew Craigie.

Mr. Craigie bought the Col. Vassall house in Cambridge in 1792, and resided in it for some time, as did also Bossenger Foster, the grandfather of Dr. Haven. Known afterwards as the Craigie house it has an historical interest, having been occupied by Gen. Washington as his headquarters after he took command of the army in 1775. It was also for many years the residence of the poet Longfellow. Our associate, Samuel S. Green, in his report of the Council in April, 1900, gave an interesting account of this historic mansion.

THE BENTLEY PAPERS.

Isaiah Thomas in his diary, under date of Jan. 6, 1820, says :

"Received information that the Rev. Dr. Bentley of Salem has left a handsome legacy to the Society. The information comes to me in a letter from one of the professors at Harvard University."

Jan'y. 7. "This evening received from Dr. Bentley's executor official notice of the Dr.'s legacy to the American Antiquarian Society."

Other entries in relation to the Bentley legacy are :

April 24. Went to Boston in our family carriage with Rejoice Newton and Samuel Jennison, Esqrs. All of us going to Salem to receive the late Dr. Bentley's legacy to the American Antiquarian Society.

25. Went to Salem on the mail stage with Mr. Newton and Mr. Jennison, Rev. Mr. Jenks, and Mr. Fowle, Exctr. to the late Dr. Bentley. Began to receive and pack up the articles contained in the legacy.
. . . . We worked till past 9 o'clock in the evening.

26. Up and at work at 6 this morning. Our team arrived from Worcester.

27. Continued to pack up the articles of the legacy; finished this afternoon. Got the team loaded, a heavy load, consisting of 3 large trunks and 18 boxes.

30. Whole expense of getting Dr. Bentley's legacy to the American Antiquarian Society from Salem, which I paid, is about 65 dollars and 80 cents.

The legacy of Dr. Bentley consisted of his books printed in New England, his cabinet, engravings, and manuscripts not of his own hand. The latter include letters from Timothy Alden, Jeremy Belknap, Thaddeus M. Harris and others, equally noteworthy.

The books have been arranged in an alcove called the Bentley Alcove. The manuscripts have been mounted in four 4° volumes, and consist of about thirteen hundred letters and documents. There are also books of Persian, Chinese and Arabic manuscripts from the same source.

It seems quite likely that the Pelham engravings before alluded to came from the Bentley legacy.

Mention should be made of his diary in twelve volumes, containing much interesting matter.

The Bradstreet papers, in one folio volume, consist mainly of military letters and documents, many of them written at Albany and Schenectady.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS.

A folio volume thus marked contains letters from Gen. Timothy Ruggles, who commanded a regiment at Crown Point in 1755, and from Col. Ephraim Williams, of Deerfield, founder of Williams College, and others. Many of the letters are addressed to Major John Burk, of Bernards-ton, who kept a journal during the war. There are also muster rolls and other military documents in the volume.

ORDERLY BOOKS.

In the report of the Council presented by the writer in April, 1881, mention was made of over forty Orderly Books and Journals in the possession of the Society, hence but brief mention of them will be made at this time.

As was stated at that time, the American Antiquarian Society have three of the Orderly Books of Col. William Henshaw, from Oct. 1, 1775, to August 25, 1776. An earlier one, April 20 to September 26, 1775, in the library

of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has been published by that society under the editorship of our associate, Charles C. Smith, Esq.

The Antiquarian Society has well under way a type-written copy of those in their possession, which it is hoped may be put in a more permanent form at a not distant day.

In this connection the following letter from the collection of the Antiquarian Society may be of interest:—

Camp at Roxbury, Augt. 19, 1775.

Sir,

As there are several vacancies in the Army which your Excellency will undoubtedly Judge best to have filled up as soon as may be, I beg leave to recommend to your particular notice Col. William Henshaw, who before the arrival of Gen. Gates officiated as an Adjutant-General, being appointed to that office by the Provincial Congress. His conduct since the arrival of your Excellency I doubt not has been noticed. . . . I therefore request that your Excellency as a reward which his past services have merited would recommend or appoint him to the Command of a Regiment & you will greatly oblige,

Your Excellency's most obedient, most humble servant

ARTEMAS WARD.

To His Excellency, General Washington.

A quarto volume of Autographs presented to the Society by Mrs. Davis—wife of Hon. John Davis, a former President of this Society. The volume was prepared for Mrs. Davis by Matthew L. Davis, the friend and biographer of Aaron Burr, and consists mainly of letters addressed to Burr, or some member of his family; a few have been added since by Mrs. Davis. There are over ninety letters or documents in the volume; special mention will be made only of a few of the rarer ones.

John Randolph, of Roanoke, writing to Col. Burr, says:—

“John Randolph finds, to his extreme surprise and chagrin,

that the house of representatives, instead of acting on the business of the *nation*, have, by the vote of a great majority, gone into committee of the whole on a complicated *private claim* not comprised in the report of the joint committee of the two houses. He therefore *despairs utterly* of getting away before the middle of next week. He is not vain enough to suppose that Col. B. will postpone his departure on *that* account, but he shall be highly gratified by any cause of detention not disagreeable to Col. B. which shall give J. R. the pleasure of accompanying him through Virginia."

There is a dainty little note from Theodosia Burr, afterwards Mrs. Alston, signed T. B. ; she says :—

"The books and note were received with pleasure; the latter would have honored Petrarch as much as it would have flattered Laura. I shall not leave town to-day, and if you should not be otherwise engaged, Mrs. Prevost and myself have disposed of you for this afternoon."

Thomas Jefferson writes to Burr, Dec. 15, 1800, in regard to the election of President and Vice-President ; the official vote not having been received, he speculates as to the way electors might vote. He says at the close of the letter :—

"I had endeavored to compose an administration whose talents, integrity, names and dispositions should at once inspire unbounded confidence in the public mind, and ensure a perfect harmony in the conduct of public business. I lose you from the list, and am not sure of all the others. Should the gentlemen who possess the public confidence decline taking a part in their affairs and force us to take up persons unknown to the people, the evil genius of this country may realize his avowal that "he will break down the administration," etc., etc.

Com. Biddle writes from U. S. Sloop-of-War *Constellation*, May 8, 1802, thanking Burr for courtesies shown him while in New York in the summer of 1800.

One of the most interesting, as well as one of the

rarest letters in the volume, is the following, from that bluff old soldier, Gen'l Israel Putnam, written with as much disregard for the rules of orthography and grammar, as he had for his country's enemies. Parton, in his *Life of Burr*, says that Margaret Moncrieffe, daughter of Major Moncrieffe, who was stationed with his regiment at Staten Island, wrote to Putnam for assistance in enabling her to join her father. The General received the letter about the time that Major Burr joined him as aide-de-camp, and his reply was prepared for his signature by Burr. This letter was, without doubt, the original answer written by Putnam himself, and which was copied by Burr; it is written on a sheet of foolscap, but without direction, and the endorsement on the back is apparently in the handwriting of Burr. An account of Miss Moncrieffe's (afterwards Mrs. Coghlan) acquaintance with Putnam may be found in her memoirs, published in New York, in 1795.

New York, 26 of July 1776

Dear Marm¹

I must Beag your Pardon for not answering your Leaters sooner but the reason was becaus I did not know how to give you an answer and not because Majr Moncref did not give me my titel for I dont regard that in the Least but am willing to do him or any of his any kind offes lays in my Power not withstanding our Political Disputs for I know let his sentiments be what they will he must fight and am well assured we shall fight sooner than give up our Libertys. According to your Desir I have been tryeng to git leave for you to go to Stratons Island for that end have waited on his Excelency for liberty for you to go his answer was that when the last flag was up hear that Collo Paten said he had it in his Power to offer to exchang Mastor Lovel for Govenor Skeen the Ginral had no power to exchang any prisnors without the Leave of Congres but would send to Congres for Leave and did not doubt but that thay would consent and he told me I might tel you that if thay Did mak the Exchang you might go with govenor Skeen but would not send a flag on pur-

¹ This letter was without doubt written to Miss Moncrieffe.

pos. Yesterday Majir Leaventon was hear and said you had desired to com to New York but all the Lades of his acquaintance was gon out of town and asked my consent for your coming hear as Mirst Putnam and two Daughters are hear be assured if you will com you shall be heartely welcom and I think much mor likley to accomplish the end you wish for that is to see your father.

I am with the greatest respects

Yours

ISRAEL PUTNAM

James Rivington, the loyalist printer, writes to "A Burr, Atty at Law at Albany," in regard to an indictment served against him; then comes a brief letter from Genl. Horatio Gates; then one from Com. James Biddle, dated "on board U. S. Ship Constellation," thanking Burr for courtesies and favors shown him while in New York, in summer of 1800, giving an account of the trip to Gibraltar, and addressed to Burr as Vice-President. General Charles Lee writes to General Wooster, who was then in Canada, as follows :—

New York, Feby ye 2th 1776.

Sir

I am to inform ye that I am appointed by the Continental Congress to the command of the Troops in Canada. I hope and dare say we shall agree well together. I must request you to contract and grind into flour twenty thousand Bushels of Wheat. I must also desire that you will suffer the Merchants of Montreal to send none of their woolen Cloths out of the Town—the post is just gowing out I must therefore conclude.

Sir, yours

CHARLES LEE

Major General.

I have ordered twelve twelve-pounders from Crown Point to Sorrel—I leave it to your discretion whether it would not be prudent before it is too late in the season to send on to the Falls of Richleau where it appears to me you ought to establish a Post.

Then follows an interesting letter from Joseph Reed, Secretary and Aide to Washington, written from the Camp at Cambridge.

The following letter, dated Philadelphia, June 23, 1775, from Roger Sherman, is of interest :—

Dear Sir

The Congress having determined it necessary to keep up an Army for the defence of America at the charge of the United Colonies, have appointed the following general officers :—

George Washington, Esq., Commander-in-Chief; Major-Generals Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam; Brigadier-Generals Pomeroy, Montgomery, yourself, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan (of New Hampshire) and one Green of Rhode Island. I am sensible that, according to your former rank, you were entitled to the place of a Major-General, and as one was to be appointed in Connecticut, I heartily recommended you to the Congress, &c.

The general officers were elected in the Congress, not by nomination but by ballot.

I am with great esteem,

Your humble servant,

ROGER SHERMAN.¹

David Wooster, Esq.

A four-page letter from Schuyler to Montgomery, dated at Ticonderoga; a letter in French, dated "District de Quebec, Mar. 4, 1776," signed "Benedict Arnold, Brig. General and Commander in Chief of the Army before Quebec"; letters from Gen. Wooster, Edward Livingston, Timothy Dwight (who dates "New Haven, I don't know the day 1772"), Benj. Lincoln, Gov. Trumbull, Charles Pinckney, and Elbridge Gerry, the latter introducing "a fellow soldier." Genl. McDougal writes a letter of eight pages.

The following letter from Gen. Washington to Mrs.

¹ *Memoirs of Aaron Burr. Vol. I.*

Provost, who subsequently became the wife of Burr, is dated,

Head Quarters, Middlebrook 19 May 1779

Madam,

It is much to be regretted that the pleasure of obeying the first emotions in favor of misfortune, is not always in our power. I would be happy could I consider myself at liberty to comply with your request in the case of your brother Mr. Peter De Visme. But as I have heretofore taken no direction in the disposition of marine prisoners I cannot with propriety interfere on the present occasion, however great the satisfaction I should feel in obliging where you are interested. Your good sense will perceive this, and find a sufficient excuse in the delicacy of my situation.

I have the honor to be

Madam, your most obedient and

hb^{le} serv^t

G WASHINGTON

Mrs Provost

In this volume, too, is the marriage certificate of Aaron Burr to Theodosia Provost, July 6, 1782.

March 13, 1802, Samuel S. Smith, D.D., President of Princeton College, writes to Col. Burr :—

“The edifice of the College in this place, together with three libraries, containing about three thousand volumes, was a few days ago entirely consumed by fire,” &c.

There are also letters from Gens. Montgomery, Schuyler and Heath, Presidents Madison, Monroe and Van Buren, from Calhoun, Gallatin, and many others of equal interest. A fine specimen of the autograph of Charles Dickens, with several lines from the *Pickwick Papers* has been added by Mrs. Gov. Davis.

“Sammy—Have a passage ready taken for 'Meriker. The Merriken gov'ment vill never give him up, ven they finds as he's got money to spend Sammy. Let the gov'ner stop there, till Mrs.

Bardell's dead, or Dobson and Fogg's hung wick last event I think is the most likely to happen first Sammy; and then let him come back and write a book about the 'Merrikin's as 'll pay all his expenses and more, if he blows 'em up enough."

CHARLES DICKENS.¹

Worcester,

February Sixth 1842.

REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY.

Six folio volumes thus marked contain a large number of muster-rolls, orders and other papers of the revolutionary period, besides many others of interest.

There is an interesting letter dated June 12, 1776, at Concord, Mass., written by Samuel Langdon, President, Harvard College, in which he returns thanks to the selectmen of Concord and others who have favored the College with their encouragement and assistance in its removal to Concord, by providing accommodations and the use of public buildings.

In one volume is a Journal of the march of Gen. Clinton's Brigade from Albany to Tioga on the Susquehanna, and several letters from American loyalists.

Two volumes marked Worcester Papers contain letters and documents relating to Worcester, among which are the Commissions of Isaiah Thomas, the founder of our Society, as Deputy Post-master of Worcester, signed by Post-masters Genl. Ebenezer Hazard, Saml. Osgood, Timothy Pickering and Jos. Habersham.

Other manuscripts of interest are: Records of the Association of the Boston Booksellers. Two volumes. 1801-1820. First secretary Caleb Bingham. Among the names signed to the constitution or articles of membership are John Boyle, Saml. Hall, Thomas and Andrews, John West, Manning and Loring, C. Metcalf, Thos. Wells

¹ This was written at the time of Dickens's first visit to the United States, at which time he was entertained by Gov. Davis at his mansion in Worcester.

and Wm. Pelham. The last secretary seems to have been Wm. B. Fowle. The meetings of the association were held at Concert Hall and at James Vilas's.

Asia and America or an Historical disquisition concerning the ideas which former geographers had about the geographical relation and connection of the Old and New World. By J. G. Kohl of Bremen. In this manuscript are over thirty well drawn maps.

The work of Dr. Kohl was noticed in the Proceedings of the Society, Oct., 1867, April, 1869, and April, 1872.

MISCELLANEOUS AUTOGRAPHS.

Under this head may be classed about two thousand letters, documents and signatures of men of note, arranged alphabetically in over one hundred portfolios. Many of the letters and documents are of historical value, and the signatures alone would have at least some commercial value as autographs.

I will speak of but a few of them at this time. Mention is made of some of the most interesting specimens.

Letters of Samuel, John and John Quincy Adams, Sir Jeffrey Amherst, Fisher Ames, and documents signed by Sir Guy Carleton, Gen. Geo. Clinton and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a signer of the Declaration of Independence.

Letters of John Cotton, 1690, and Rev. Wm. Cooper, 1740.

A letter of Abraham Lincoln to Maj. Gen. Hunter under date of April 1, 1863.

Two MS. sermons of Rev. Joseph Eckley, D.D., pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, 1779, whose services were then held in King's Chapel as their own church had not been repaired after being occupied by the British troops.

Paul Revere to Isaiah Thomas, May 6, 1790, in regard to the bell made for the second parish in Worcester, also his receipt for same.

Gen. Rufus Putnam to Isaiah Thomas in regard to certain falsehoods respecting the transfer of Indians to New York. He asks Mr. Thomas to have certain papers published in the *Spy*. Dated Jany., 1786.

A letter of Deborah (Gannett) Sampson, the female soldier of the Revolution, who served under the name of Robert Shirliffe, to the captain of her company, Capt. George Webb of Holden, dated June 2, 1804.

Letters and documents signed by Secretary Rawson, 1653.

"The Rebelliard, an Anonymous Poem. Scene, Harvard University during a Rebellion." Signed "Caetera desiderantur." pp. 16. No date.

Letters of Samuel Rogers, 1782-84, the poet banker, to Dr. William Paine, first vice-president of the Antiquarian Society.

Letters of Thomas Prince, Boston, 1728, to Rev. Mr. Prince and lady. This was probably Rev. Nathan Prince, brother of Rev. Thomas Prince.

A four-page letter of Gen. Ph. Schuyler dated Ticonderoga Nov. 30, 1775, to Gen. Montgomery.

Maj.-Gen. Charles Lee to Gen. David Wooster, Feby. 28, 1776.

Jos. Reed, Secty. to Washington, writes to Gen. Wooster from the Camp at Cambridge July 25, 1775, notifying him by direction of Gen. Washington that a Man of War had sailed from Boston.

Of interest to students of the Mass. Paper Money is a List of Bills emitted in Province of Mass. Bay, 1700 to 1739. The years when emitted and when to be brought in, together with the course of exchange during the time.

Another reads :

Province of Mass Bay March 16 1743

We certify that seven Shillings and six pence in Province Bills of the last form of Tenor is equal in value to one ounce of silver

and that ten shillings in said bills is equal in value to one hundred pounds sterling in good bills of exchange payable in London.

WM PEPPERRELL

EBENEZER BURRILL

Accompt of Province Bills made by order of the General Court and delivered to the Treasurer of the Province, for which also he gives credit in the several years set against their names. Also an accompt of what bills have been burnt. Also the times when and the price of Silver and Exchange 1703-1731. Dated Oct., 1740. Signed Wm. Dudley in behalf of the Committee.

An account of Bills of Credit made and issued by the Government of the Province of Massachusetts Bay for the support of the said Government from the year 1700 to the year 1738. The Provision made for the sinking and discharging of which Bills, on their emission, was by taxes upon the Polls and Estates, and the duties of Impost and Excise.

Memo., The Bills emitted the first year viz. 1701 were Bills of the late Colony of the Massachusetts, and brought to be burnt in that and the next year.

Among the Boston papers is

A petition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston (1757,)

To Spencer Phips Esq, Lieut. General and Commander in Chief in relation to power of the Assessors to ease persons by abating their taxes

Signed Thos Cushing Samuel Adams

Royal Tyler, Thomas Greene.

et als. Committee of the Town

Also Instructions of the Town of Boston to their representative May, 1755, and a List of polls taxed in the Town of Boston in 1758 as appears by the books, two thousand two hundred and seventy four, out of which are abated 194, and expect to abate as many more that are at sea and very poor, then there will remain 1886 ratable polls. The

valuation of these that have left the Town since the last valuation in the Province.

WORCESTER MILITARY.

A volume thus marked contains letters of the revolutionary period and of the time of the Shays rebellion.

Among the latter is a letter from General and Judge Artemas Ward to Gov. Bowdoin, 1787, in which he gives important information as to the movements of the insurgents at the barracks at Rutland, Mass. Another, dated Shrewsbury, Jan'y 1st, 1787, signed by Edward Flint, Town Clerk, also to Gov. Bowdoin, agreeing not to obstruct the sitting of the Courts in the County of Worcester the 23d of Jan'y, provided he withhold the troops from marching, and that the people who have taken an active part in the late rising remain unmolested in person and property.

Another letter dated Feby., 1787, from the Sheriff of the County in regard to state prisoners held for treasonable actions against the Commonwealth, asks for some provision for their support, &c., &c.

A letter from Daniel Shays in his old age, dated April, 1818, calls for help from the charitable, &c.

THE ISAIAH THOMAS DIARIES.

Volumes of interleaved almanacs, from 1774 to 1828, contain interesting entries made by Isaiah Thomas, the founder of our Society.

The Almanacs used are Low's, Bickerstaff's, Stearns's, Thomas's, I. Thomas, Jr.'s, and Robert B. Thomas's.

They give much information of the early days of the Society, as well as a record of events of interest of the period.

As our associate, Benjamin Thomas Hill, has made an accurate copy of the interesting material contained in these volumes for presentation to the Society, it is not necessary to make more than this brief allusion to them.

THE LINCOLN PAPERS.

The manuscript material from the Lincoln family is large, and of especial interest to residents of Worcester. It consists of a large collection of letters written to Levi Lincoln, Attorney-General of the United States and Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts by his friends and prominent men of his time.

A collection in four volumes of correspondence of Governor Enoch Lincoln, Governor of Maine 1827-28. Also a volume of historical papers.

Several volumes containing letters to Governor Levi Lincoln, Military Orders as Commander in Chief of the State Militia and original Fast and Thanksgiving proclamations promulgated by him.

In fifty or more portfolios and several volumes will be found the manuscript material of William Lincoln, a member of the Antiquarian Society and the historian of Worcester. Mr. Lincoln saved all written matter that would tend to throw light on the history of his native town, and there will be found in these volumes, invitations, notices of meetings of societies and local historical material of very diversified character.

His interleaved copy of the History of Worcester gives abundance of new matter he had collected.

In fact all the manuscripts of this family so closely connected with the State of Massachusetts and the City of Worcester, will be found of great historical interest and value.

There are also many record books of societies in Worcester and vicinity that have long ago passed out of notice.

SAMUEL JENNISON BIOGRAPHIES.

Perhaps one of the most useful of the manuscript collections in the possession of the Society is that prepared by Samuel Jennison, a former librarian, treasurer and

corresponding secretary of the Antiquarian Society. It consists of a great number of biographical notices of prominent men of the time, filed in alphabetical order, and prepared with great care.

These notices are often consulted and were largely used by Rev. Dr. William Allen in the preparation of his *American Biographical Dictionary*.

In our collection is the original manuscript of George Richards Minot's "The History of the Insurrection in Massachusetts in the Year 1786, and of the Rebellion consequent thereon." 4^o. pp. 260. The first edition of which was printed at Worcester in 1788 by Isaiah Thomas.

Isaiah Thomas in May, 1775, writes concerning a proposition to publish a weekly paper in Worcester, to be called "The Worcester Gazette and American Oracle of Liberty," and speaks of the necessity of removing his printing material from Boston.¹

"A poem on the death of the revered pastor, incomparably learned and faithful servant of Christ in the work or the ministry, Mr. Urian Oakes, Pastor of the Church at Cambridge and President of Harvard College." Nineteen verses; signed, Daniel Gookin, Jr. of Sherburne.

At the annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society in October, 1888, our associate, Samuel S. Green, read a paper entitled "The Case of Bathsheba Spooner," who was sentenced to be executed June 4, 1778, for the murder of her husband.

As supplementary to that paper it is of interest to note, that the Antiquarian Society has in its archives the original order for the execution of Mrs. Spooner and her accomplices. Also an order of the Council for a stay in the execution till June 24, that the accused might have more time to prepare for death.

On the back of the original order for the execution is

¹ The first number of "Massachusetts Spy and American Oracle of Liberty," was printed at Worcester, May 2, 1775.

the certificate of William Greenleaf, the Sheriff, dated Lancaster, July 2, 1778, that he had "hanged each of them till they were dead."

Other papers in this remarkable case are a copy of the certificate of the men and women midwives in relation to the physical condition of Mrs. Spooner. This is signed by John Green, Josiah Wilder, Elijah Dix and Hannah Mower; also the certificate of Elizabeth Rice and Molly Tallmun, matrons, and the report of the coroner's inquest on the body of Joshua Spooner.¹

Besides the various collections of manuscripts to which I have alluded are many letters and autographs of historical interest scattered through volumes in the library. In this necessarily restricted report on our manuscripts, I have not attempted to give a complete list of even the most important of our treasures. My main object has been to call the attention of the Society and others interested in historical studies to the wealth of material open to their inspection under the rules of the library, and to impress upon the Council the necessity and importance of a catalogue to make more available the extensive collection of manuscript matter in our archives.

For the Council,

NATH'L PAINE.

¹ Mrs. Spooner was executed at Worcester and buried on Green Hill in that town.

OBITUARY.

JOHN D. WASHBURN. About ten years have passed since there suddenly disappeared from our midst a widely esteemed and picturesque personality; one which had long been honorably prominent in affairs of city, state and nation; an efficient and sagacious factor in the councils of societies and corporations; a favorite in social circles. While his stalwart frame was unbowed and vigorous, his mind as clear as ever, his wonderful memory unimpaired, Hon. John Davis Washburn abandoned all the activities wherein for many years his ambition, tastes and abilities had found useful occupation. Thenceforward he led a life of seclusion, very seldom emerging from the quietude of the home circle. He had received one of those sharp warnings of human frailty which come to all of us sooner or later, and he had surrendered apparently without any such struggle as strong men usually make to hold their place in the front rank and to fight in the van of life's battle to the last. He had made humble confession to himself that his appointed work was accomplished, and he soberly awaited with chastened spirit the coming of the all-conqueror. We could hardly have missed him more had he then died, but he lived on for years and finally fell asleep at his Worcester residence April 4, 1903, just one week after his seventieth birthday.

He was born in Boston, March 27, 1833, but when he was five years old his father, John Marshall Washburn, retiring from mercantile business, bought a small farm in Lancaster, Mass., where he resided during the rest of his life, becoming an influential citizen. He was a gentleman of stately bearing, with much of the old school formality in his courteous manners. Our associate's grandfather, Nehemiah Washburn, of Raynham, Mass., was a brother of that Israel Washburn who settled in Livermore, Maine, and had three sons in the United States Congress at one

time, representing three different states. His mother, Harriet Webster (Kimball) Washburn, was the daughter of Reverend Daniel Kimball, of Needham, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1800. She was a woman of strong character and bright intellect, and was universally beloved for her neighborliness and other Christian graces.

Having been fitted for college in the school of his uncle, Henry C. Kimball, at Lancaster, John Davis Washburn entered Harvard University in 1849. He was graduated with creditable rank in 1853, and after a year's reading in the law offices of Honorable Emory Washburn and Honorable George F. Hoar, in Worcester, entered the Harvard Law School, and received the degree of LL.B. in 1856. He began the practice of his profession in Worcester in partnership with Honorable Henry C. Rice, and gained some repute as an insurance attorney. In 1866, upon the election of Alexander H. Bullock to the office of governor, he succeeded him as general agent of the insurance companies, and this became the business of his life.

June 5, 1860, he was married to Mary F. Putnam, of Worcester. She survives him with their only child, Edith, wife of Richard Ward Greene. The title of Colonel, by which Mr. Washburn was familiarly known, was not won in military service, being due to his appointment as Chief of Staff to Governor Bullock in 1866; but his two brothers, Captain Edward R. Washburn of the 53d Massachusetts Infantry and Brevet Brigadier-General Francis Washburn, colonel of the 4th Massachusetts Cavalry, died of wounds received in action during our Civil War. Two married sisters, Mrs. George M. Bartol and Mrs. Henry H. Fuller, reside in Lancaster.

Colonel Washburn's political service for Worcester included three terms in the lower branch of the legislature (1876, '77 and '78), and one in the State Senate (1884). He was elected representative for the Worcester District a fourth time (1879), but resigned his seat on account of ill health, and spent several months in foreign travel. While a member of the House he proved himself a confident, ready and persuasive debater, and won personal popularity by his ability and genial disposition. He rendered valuable service to various state and city institutions, being a trustee of the Worcester Lunatic Hospital

from 1871 to 1881; of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded from 1875 to 1885, and of the Worcester Memorial Hospital, of which he was also treasurer. He was one of the original board of trustees of Clark University; for fourteen years a director in the Citizens National Bank; director and president of the Merchants and Farmers Mutual Fire Insurance Company.

In 1889, Colonel Washburn was appointed by President Harrison Minister Resident and Consul General to Switzerland, and the office was the next year raised to the rank of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. He served in this capacity with marked credit for three years, when he returned home with nervous system seriously disordered, probably owing to a sunstroke received in Paris, and from that time took little part in public affairs.

In April, 1871, Colonel Washburn became a member of this Society, and in October of that year succeeded Reverend Alonzo Hill, D.D., as Recording Secretary, an office which he held until his resignation, October 24, 1894, serving the Society for twenty-three years with an intelligent devotion which ensured him the cordial esteem of all his associates. He was a member of the Council until his decease. He was also a member of the Council of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1893-95, having been elected to resident membership in 1882. His contributions to our Proceedings have been as follows: The Discovery of the Bay of San Francisco, 1872; Introductory Remarks to a Memorandum of John T. Doyle on the Bay of San Francisco, 1873. Reprinted 1874; Verazzano and his Voyages, 1876; Edward Johnson, his life and poetry, 1877. Reprinted 1877. 8°. pp. 32; The Battle of Otumba and its Effects on Mexican history, etc., 1879. Reprinted 1880. 8°. pp. 35; Foundation of the Swiss Republic, Copy of the Latin Pact of 1291; also furnished brief obituary tributes upon the decease of Sir Roderick Impry Murchison, Hon. Emory Washburn, LL.D., Samuel F. Haven, LL.D., Andrew Bigelow, D.D., Nathaniel Thayer, A.M., Hon. Isaac Davis, LL.D., Holmes Ammidown, Edward H. Davis, Sidney H. Gay, Ebenezer Torrey, A.M., and Joseph Sargent, M.D. He contributed to the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society a

Memoir of Hon. Stephen Salisbury, LL.D. Reprinted, Worcester, 1885. 8°. pp. 58. Of his public addresses five were printed by him: An Address, July 4, 1876, at Lancaster, Mass. 8°. pp. 58; Remarks of John D. Washburn and Reply of Francis W. Bird in Mass. House of Representatives, May 16, 1878. 8°. pp. 10; Memorial Address at Lancaster, Mass., May 29, 1880. Worcester, 1880. 8°. pp. 15; One-and-twenty years from Sumter, an Oration before Francis Washburn Post, No. 92, G. A. R., at Brighton, June 4, 1882. Worcester, 1882. 8°. pp. 29; Poem at the one hundredth anniversary of the Worcester Fire Society, January 21, 1893. Worcester, 1893. 8°. pp. 8. These compositions give us some evidence of his varied talents, his taste in historical studies, and his lofty ideals respecting the duties of the citizen; and I think we may see in their literary style, and especially in that of the addresses with their exuberance of illustration and rhetorical phrase, something of the man himself. His extraordinary gifts of memory stood in the way of his acquiring in early life the habit of persistent industry, which might have made him a profound scholar or a famous lawyer.

E. S. N.

WILLIAM WIRT HENRY. On the fifth day of December, 1900, died in the city of Richmond, Va., William Wirt Henry, grandson of the orator and statesman, Patrick Henry. He was born February 14th, 1831, at "Red Hill," Charlotte Co., Va. Mr. Henry was the eldest son of John and Elvira Bruce Henry, and his father was the youngest son of Patrick Henry and his second wife Dorothea Spottswood Dandridge. His mother, Elvira Bruce, was the granddaughter of Col. William Cabell, of "Union Hill," Amherst Co., Va.

Mr. Henry graduated as Master of Arts at the University of Virginia, in 1850. Three years later he commenced the practice of law in Charlotte, and was for some years Commonwealth's Attorney for that county. Before the war he was a member of the Whig party, and was opposed to secession till the alternative of the coercion of South Carolina was presented. After the ordinance of secession he was one of the first to volunteer for service, and en-

listed in an artillery company, commanded by Capt. Charles Bruce.

In 1873 he came to Richmond, and in 1877 he was elected to the House of Delegates, and two years later to a seat in the State Senate. In both of these bodies he was a distinguished member.

At the bar Mr. Henry stood among the very first lawyers of Virginia. He was counsel in a great many important cases in the State and Federal Courts, and received a lucrative income from his profession.

But great as his political services undoubtedly were, and universally conceded as was his political ability, the work he performed in the literary world raised even more lasting monuments to his genius and attainments. The large number of historical and religious works which he left behind him, exhibit the united results of his large experience in political and legal affairs, and his extensive studies in the domestic and economic history of Virginia and the United States. He was an all round scholar, and his conversation drew upon a treasure-house of anecdote and information.

It was the good fortune of the writer to know Mr. Henry, during a period of twenty years, and he had therefore ample opportunities to compare him with other distinguished men in Virginia. He has no hesitation in saying, that while there may have been some more eminent along particular lines, none stood on so high a plane of general ability and accomplishments as Mr. Henry. The most famous of his literary works is his "Life and Letters of Patrick Henry," published in three large volumes. It is difficult to say to which of the two, Patrick Henry or his grandson William Wirt Henry, the book is a greater monument. It established the title of the author as one of the first American scholars and historians, and it gave to the public for the first time a true idea of the colossal proportions of Patrick Henry as a lawyer, statesman and orator. His literary qualities were recognized by both Washington and Lee University and William and Mary College; both of which conferred upon Mr. Henry the honorary degree of LL.D. He was for some time president of the Virginia Historical Society, president of the American Historical Association, president of the Vir-

ginia Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, chairman of the advisory board of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, president of the Richmond City Bar Association, president of the State Bar Association, president of the Scotch-Irish Society of Virginia, and member of the Board of Trustees of Hampden-Sidney College, member of the Mass. Historical Society, the Long Island Historical Society, the Southern Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, the Bible Society of Virginia, the Scotch-Irish Society of America, and the Board of Trustees of the Peabody Fund.

Mr. Henry was commissioner from Virginia at the centennial celebration of the formation of the United States Constitution. As a representative of the American Historical Association he attended in 1898 the Congress of History at The Hague.

He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and took great interest in all matters relating to its welfare.

In 1854 Mr. Henry married Lucy Gray Marshall, daughter of Col. Gray P. Marshall, of Charlotte Co., Va. He left four children surviving him. The deceased was in his seventieth year, and enjoyed good health till the spring before his death. In expectation of improving his health he spent a portion of the summer following at the White Sulphur Springs. Though he was not permanently benefited, Mr. Henry resumed his duties at the law office of Henry and Williams, in which he was senior partner. Early in November, however, his health became such as to confine him to the house, and thereafter he declined steadily. His death was attributed to heart failure.

He was widely known throughout the United States, and his death was deeply regretted by his numerous friends and acquaintances, who admired him for the rich treasures of his mind and heart.

L. G. TYLER.

THE VERY REV. MICHAEL CHARLES O'BRIEN, who had been a member of our Society since its October meeting in 1900, died at his home in Bangor, Maine, November 11, 1901. During his short period of membership he had not attended the Society's meetings or contributed to

its proceedings. We had hoped much from his coöperation in the field of historical research, where he had done so much careful and profitable work, and especially in the study of the Algonquin languages and dialect, of which he had probably a more comprehensive and accurate knowledge than any one now living.

It was this knowledge especially which attracted the attention of our Society, and it may have been because he was aware that the study of these Indian tongues had been of interest to us and had been pursued with unrivalled devotion and success by our late associate, J. Hammond Trumbull, and in a less degree by others, that he accepted our membership.

Father O'Brien was born in County Kerry, Ireland, October 20, 1842. He received his early education in his native country, and in the year 1859, came to the United States, and soon after entered upon his studies with the priesthood in view, at St. Charles College, and afterward completed his course at St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. At this time he lacked more than a year of the canonical age for ordination as a priest, but by virtue of a special dispensation he was ordained in 1865, at the Cathedral in Portland, Maine. For about twelve years he was pastor of several churches successively in Maine and New Hampshire. In 1877 he was assigned to the parish at Oldtown, Maine, his parishioners being for the most part the remnants of the Penobscot Indians there and at Orono. Here he began the study of the Abenakis language, the native tongue of his people. He remained with this parish three years only, but gained in that the affection and confidence of his flock to an unusual degree.

In the year 1880 he was assigned to St. Mary's parish in Bangor, Maine. He found his parish struggling with debt and discouragement. Within ten years the debt was paid and the church property greatly improved and beautified. Some years later he was made permanent rector of St. Mary's, an honor seldom conferred, and also Vicar General of the diocese. He was administrator of the See in the interval between the death of Bishop Healy and the arrival of his successor, Bishop O'Connell.

During his pastorate at Bangor Father O'Brien continued the study of the Indian languages and attained a

mastery of the Algonquin dialects such as no one now possesses. While at Oldtown he prepared a catechism in the Abenakis language for the use of his Indian parishoners, and later contributed valuable material concerning the structure and grammatical peculiarities of that language to the proceedings of the Maine Historical Society.

Those who knew Father O'Brien will attest the beauty and charm of his character and his capacity for friendship. He was as a citizen patriotic and public spirited, a loyal, devoted and efficient servant of the church, to which he gave an undivided and loving allegiance.

J. EVARTS GREENE.

SOME LETTERS, ETC., OF JOHN HANCOCK AND THOMAS CUSHING.

BY ALLEN C. THOMAS.

SOME years ago there came into my possession a bundle of old papers containing letters, wills, marriage-certificates, indentures, deeds and memoranda of various kinds dating from 1684 to 1841. The giver had no idea what this bundle contained, but was content to transfer them "as is," and receive thanks.

Among these papers were several autograph drafts of letters and documents of John Hancock. They do not contribute much to our knowledge of past events, but they show his thoughts in the rough, and the modifications made before the documents were sent to their destination. They may also serve to call attention to the neglect into which John Hancock has fallen, and thereby stimulate some one to undertake a biography which will place him where he rightfully belongs, even if it does not restore him to the high position which he once held. The man who was for nigh thirty years the most popular citizen of Massachusetts deserves better treatment than he has received at the hands of most historians, and from the biographers of his contemporaries. It is idle to deny that he had infirmities of temper; who would not have such, if he were the martyr to gout as was Hancock? It is also undeniable that he was afflicted with attacks of vanity, or something which closely resembled it.

He is charged, when President of Congress, with living in fine style at the expense of the country, while the soldiers were starving. But it is not stated that he drew

no salary as President, or that he was not repaid for his outlay until the war was practically over (1783), when he was voted by Congress "\$3,248.00 in full for household and other expenses for two years and five months, being the time he acted as President of Congress."¹ Doubtless this was paid, if it was paid, in the depreciated money of those trying days. He is charged with being a smuggler; but in the eyes of many eminent and honorable men of that day in New England, smuggling was considered not only not reprehensible, but even praiseworthy. He is said to have been below mediocrity in ability; but his letters, official papers, and his recommendations to the General Court do not indicate such a condition of mind. He had numerous detractors in his own time, and they have not been wanting in our day. One of the latest of these, the somewhat supercilious "Philistine" who gives "heart to heart talks to his flock," and describes "Little Journeys" to homes of various kinds, has been pleased to term him "a defaulter," "a smuggler," "a man who joined the patriots to save his own neck."

Whatever ground there may be for some of the charges against him, we must acknowledge that he acted in an unaccountable manner as Treasurer of Harvard College.

That Hancock has been neglected and undervalued, and neglected because undervalued, is partly due to the fact that for the average inquirer the sources of information are very limited, and because the fullest and most accessible accounts are hostile to him. Many, if not most, of our modern statements concerning him may be traced to Wells's *Life of Samuel Adams*. This work, a most interesting and valuable one, is written by the great-grandson of Adams, and no opportunity is lost to magnify his ancestor, even at the expense of others. Samuel Adams, however, needs no such bolstering. The tone of this

¹ Journals of Congress, March 31, 1783.

book is distinctly adverse to Hancock, and almost every good thing which he did is ascribed to the influence of Samuel Adams.

In 1896, on the motion of a negro member of the Massachusetts Legislature, a simple monument to John Hancock was erected in the old Granary Burying Ground in Boston, at the public expense. But the interest then aroused was short-lived. No adequate biography has yet appeared. It is true that "John Hancock, His Book," by Mr. A. E. Brown, published in 1898, gives a graphic account of the early business life of John Hancock, the merchant, and of his correspondents; but this record practically closes with the opening of the Revolution. Another book, "Dorothy Quincy, Wife of John Hancock, with Events of Her Time," published in 1901, does not attempt to tell more about him than would be needed in such a biography. Moreover, this little book is written by a great-great niece of Dorothy Hancock, and is open to the charge of being too favorable to the heroine and her husband. So far as known, these are the only works relating to Hancock which have been published since the temporary revival of interest in 1896.

It is not claimed that he was intellectually great; he must be placed considerably below the Adamses, Otis, and Warren; but that he was no mediocre man, or "empty barrel," as he has been called more than once, his record indicates very decidedly. Were there time, it would be of interest to give a chronological record of his public life, but suffice it to say that a man who was sent to the legislature continuously for eight years in troublous times, who was on every important committee, moderator of important public meetings, representative to the Continental Congress, President of it for two and a half years, re-elected in his absence, Governor of such a State as Massachusetts for thirteen years, and chairman of the convention to consider the adoption of the Federal Consti-

tution, which was finally adopted largely through his influence,—must have had more than mediocre ability. Surely such a record cannot be accounted for by the fact that he was the richest man in the Province, whose position, wealth, and name were wanted in the struggle for freedom, and that therefore he was led, possibly flattered, or cajoled by stronger men, into becoming and remaining an advocate of independence. It is, perhaps, allowable to call him, as has been said of him elsewhere, the "Alcibiades of the rebellious little Puritan town," but it is far too little to say of him that, "He was valuable chiefly from his picturesqueness."¹

While there are not a few incidents in his life which need elucidating, some it would seem, with our present knowledge, to his discredit, but more, many more to his great credit, it is not unlikely that the results of a careful, scholarly research would lead us to unite with the mature and sober judgment of John Adams, who wrote of him in 1818, "I can say with truth that I profoundly admired him, and more profoundly loved him. . . . I knew Mr. Hancock from his cradle to his grave. He was radically generous and benevolent. . . . He became an example to all young men of the town. Wholly devoted to business, he was as regular and punctual at his store as the sun is in its course. . . . Though I never injured or justly offended him, and though I spent much of my time, and suffered unknown anxiety, in defending his property, reputation, and liberty from persecution, I cannot but reflect upon myself for not paying him more respect than I did in his life time. . . . Nor were his talents or attainments inconsiderable. They were far superior to many who have been much more celebrated. He had a great deal of political sagacity and penetration into men. He was by no means a contemptible scholar or orator."²

¹ Lodge, "Boston," p. 176. ² Works of John Adams, X., 260, 261.

But it is time to take up the letters before us. The first is as President of Congress to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut. It is written from Philadelphia, June 27, 1775, and closely corresponds with the records in the Journals of Congress under the date of June 26-27, 1775.¹

The letter is as follows :—

Philad^a 27 June 1775

Hon^l Sir

By the Unanimous Vote of this Congress I am Directed to assure you of the high & gratefull Sense they have of your Wisdom assiduity and Zeal in the common cause of the united Colonies, and to inform you of the appointment of a Commander in Chief & other General Officers over the Forces that are or may be Raised for the Defence of American Liberty, a List of you of your troops whom ~~Λ~~ have Inclos'd. the Subordinate officers ~~Λ~~ to be Recommended by ~~Λ~~ the Provincial Congress to the General, to whom Commissions from this Congress are Sent to be fill'd up agreeable to such Recommendation.

I am also Directed by this Congress to Acquaint you that ~~by order their order~~ General Schuyler is order'd upon ~~a~~ particular an important service, in the prosecution of which, they have Resolved, that if he should have Occasion for a larger Quantity of Ready Money & Ammunition than he can in convenient time procure from the provincial Convention of the Colony of New York he do in such Case apply to you for such Supplies of both as can be furnish'd by your Colony, & you are Desir'd to Afford him both money & ammunition, & this Congress will make provision for Reimbursing the same

you

I am likewise to inform ~~Λ~~ that this Congress have this Day come to a Resolution that Major Skeene an Officer lately arrived from England, & who has for some days been kept in this City by their order & suffer'd to be abroad upon his Parole, be Sent under a proper Guard to you, to be Retain'd at Hartford untill the further order of this Congress; ~~The Resolves of the Congress of the 27th of June 1775~~

Wishing you the Enjoyment of Health & every other personal

¹ Force's American Archives, Fourth Series, II., pp. 1855, 1856; Journals of Congress, June 26, 27, 1775.

Blessing & that our Country may long be happy in the Continuance of your important Services, I am Hon^L Sir

Your most obed Servant

Hon^L Gov Trumbull

Endorsed in J. H's handwriting "To Governor Trumbull
June 1775"

[See Force's Amer. Archives, iv. 2, 1855, 56.]

The next letter is to General Washington, under date of June 28, 1775. It is as follows:—

Philadelphia June 28. 1775.

Sir

By Direction of the Congress I now transmitt you several Resolutions pass'd yesterday, by which you will observe they have Directed major General Schuyler to Examine into the State of the Posts at Ticonderago [*sic*] & Crown Point & of the Troops Station'd there as also to Enquire into the Disposition of the Canadians & Indians. You will likewise find they have Direct'd him to Take or Destroy all Vessells, Boats or Floating Batteries prepared by Gov^r. Carlton on or near the Waters of the Lakes, and to Take possession of St Johns & Montreal if he finds it practicable & not Disagreeable to the Canadians. The
of Congress

The Alterations of their Sentiments [^] since your Departure relative to making an Impression into Canada was occasion'd by a letter ~~the Cong~~ they Rec'd from the Committee of Albany, a Copy of which you have inclos'd, they Gave their Directions upon these important matters Directly to Major General Schuyler, as he would be near the posts abovemention'd & as their being sent to you would occasion such Delays as might prove Detrimental to the Service.

I send you the Remainder of the Commissions Sign'd, should you have occasion for more please to acquaint me & they shall be immediately transmitted to you.

Brig^d General Gates not yet Arriv'd in the City, I Expect him to morrow, & shall deliver him his Commission, & promote his Joining you as soon as possible; Inclos'd is a Letter from him.

With my best wishes for every personal Happiness, & Success in all your Undertakings

I have the honour to be Sir

Your most obed' ~~humb~~ humbl

General Washington.

[See Force's Am. Arch., iv. 2, 1855, 56.]

These drafts bear few erasures and alterations. They are interesting as showing that they were the work, not of

a Secretary, but of the President himself. I am inclined to think, however, that these drafts were afterwards copied by a Secretary and signed by the President with his formal signature. On the other hand, I have here the draft of a letter from the President of Congress to General Washington, written some time in July, 1775, which appears to be in the handwriting of John Jay.

Endorsed to "General Washington." July, 1775.

Your letter of the 10th Instant with the enclosed papers being duly received was laid before Congress and immediately taken into Consideration.

In answer to the several matters therein contained I am to inform you, that the Congress appointed a Committee to enquire what quantity of light sail cloth sheeting & osnabugs or tuklenburgs could be obtained in this town for the purpose of making tents, & in this business the committee are now closely employed.

It is agreed that tow cloth will be most proper for hunting shirts, & of this the Congress are informed a sufficient quantity may be obtained in Rhode Island & Connecticut. It is expected you will give orders for purchasing there the quantity necessary

Agreeable to your recommendation they have appointed Joseph Trumbull Esq^r commissary Gen^l of stores & provisions for the army of the United Colonies

The appointment of a quarter master general Commissary of Musters and a commissary of Artillery is left to you, this congress not being sufficiently acquainted with persons properly qualified for these offices.

They have ordered a company of _____ to be raised in this city & sent forward. General Thomas they have appointed first Brigadier General in the room of Mr Pomroy who did not act under the commission sent him and have ordered General Thomas' commission to bear date the same day Genl Pomroy's did.

They have empowered you, if you think fit, to appoint three Brigade Majors of such persons as you chuse to honour with that command and to commission them accordingly.

They have appointed a committee to consider & report the establishing an Hospital & appointing a Director. As soon as they have brought in their report and the congress have come to any resolution on that subject you will be made acquainted with it.

Letters are sent with a recommendation to the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts bay Rhode Island & Connecticut to

compleat the deficiencies in the regiments belonging to their respective colonies, which you shall retain in the continental army.

And it is earnestly recommended to Rhode-island to send forward to you three hundred & sixty men lately voted by their general assembly and to Connecticut to send forward fourteen hundred men lately voted by the general assembly of that Colony.

Upon intelligence that Mr Johnson is endeavouring to instigate the Indians to acts of Hostility the Congress have empowered General Schuyler "to dispose of and employ all the troops in the New York department in such manner as he may think best for the protection & defense of these colonies, the tribes of Indians in friendship and amity with us and most effectually to promote the general Interest, still pursuing, if in his power, the former orders from this congress & subject to the future orders of the commander in chief."

As the Congress are not fully acquainted with number of the enemy you have to oppose and the extent of your operations, they reposing confidence in your prudence have resolved, that "Such a body of troops be kept up in the Massachusetts bay as you shall think necessary, provided they do not exceed twenty two thousand."

In a letter from Lord Dartmouth to Gov^r Martin dated Whitehall May 8th 1775 after recommending to him to embody such of the men in four Counties (which Gov^r Martin had represented as favourable to the views of administration) as are able to bear arms, is the following paragraph "I confess to you, Sir, that this appears to me to be a matter of so much importance that I cannot to earnestly recommend it to your attention, & that no time may be lost, in case of absolute necessity I have received his Majesty's commands to write to General Gage to apprise him of this favourable circumstance & to instruct him that he do, upon application from you, send some able & discreet officer to you in order to concert the means of carrying so essential a service into effect & if necessary to lead the people forth against any rebellious attempts to disturb the public peace."

Whether the five vessels you mention to have sailed from Boston on the 11th Inst. are gone on this service time must manifest.

The Bills ordered to be struck by the congress are in good forwardness; as soon as a sufficient quantity worth sending is compleated, it will be sent to you.

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Congress have received a letter from the provincial convention of Georgia dated 8th Instant, informing that all the parishes in that Colony except two which it is supposed do not contain a score of freeholders inhabitants, met by their delegates in convention on the 4th instant; that those parishes that upon former occasions seemed reluctant, have manifested a laudable zeal on this occasion; that

several gentlemen in Savannah, that have hitherto been neuter or declared against America, now speak of the proceedings of Parliament as illegal & oppressive; that the convention had applied to the Governor to appoint a day of fasting & prayer, with which request the Governor informed them he would comply; that they have chosen five delegates to represent their colony in this Congress viz John Houston, Arch^d Bullock Esq^r the rev^d Doct Zubly, Lyman hall and Noble Wimberly Jones Esq^r; & lastly that they have resolved strictly to adhere to the continental Association & are heartily disposed zealously to enter into every measure that the Congress may deem necessary for the safety of America."

With the next drafts we turn from national to state affairs. It is now Governor Hancock, and the date, November, 1782. The question is relative to the passage of an excise bill, and the adjournment of the General Court.

I am indebted to Mr. Tillinghast, the accomplished Massachusetts State Librarian, for transcripts from the Journal of the General Court, which explain the Governor's drafts. These drafts and extracts¹ speak for themselves, and are characteristic.

¹ Extracts from House Journal, Nov. 12, 1782.

"Mr. Smead was charged with a Message to inform the Hon. Senate that the House had taken Order on all the public business before them and were ready for a recess in case the Hon. Senate were likewise prepared therefor."

"The Hon. Mr. Davis came down & said that the Senate had not acted upon the public business so far as was necessary previous to a Recess & therefore had not concurred with the House in the Order aforesaid."

"The Hon. Genl. Brooks brought down the Order of the House, appointing a committee to wait upon His Excellency the Governor, to request him to adjourn the Genl. Court, In senate read & concurred with amendment at A. Sent down for concurrence. Read & concurred."

"The Secretary came down & said that His Excellency the Governor thought it impossible for the General Court to be adjourned this evening several Resolves having just been laid before him, but that His Excellency would send a Message to both Houses early in the morning. Then the House adjourned to Wednesday Morning 9 o'clock.

Nov. 12, 1782.

"The Secretary came down and delivered the following Message from His Excellency the Governor.

Gentlemen of the Senate & Gentlemen of the House of Representatives—The Secretary has laid before me a Bill entitled an Act for repealing several acts laying certain duties of Excise on certain articles therein mentioned, & for laying a duty or excise on certain articles therein mentioned. I am clearly of opinion that under present circumstances it is highly expedient if not absolutely necessary, to raise money in some such way as is pointed out by this Bill. Experience has taught us

MESSAGES TO THE GENERAL COURT.

Gentlemen of the Senate & Gentlemen of the House of Representatives.

In the Evening of the 12th Ins: I Rec'd by a Committee of the General Court a Request to adjourn the Court, ~~to the last Wednesday~~

that we cannot avail ourselves of money sufficient to carry on the war solely by the common mode of taxation. It is then of great importance that we should obtain all we can by duties & excises. The more important this measure appears to be, the more necessary it is that it should be done in such a way as to render it effectual & permanent, as well as conducted in such a manner as to make it an equal tax & thereby render it agreeable to the people in general. I would submit it to your consideration whether this can be effected, without first consulting the neighboring governments & knowing whether they will adopt similar measures. I therefore in duty cannot refrain to recommend your referring this Bill to the next Sessions for further consideration, and in the mean time taking such measures as you may judge proper to obtain the sentiments of the neighboring states upon this subject.

Boston, Nov. 13, 1782.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Whereupon a Motion being made & seconded the question was put whether the House would take measures for the said Bill to be returned to them again from His Excellency. and passed in the negative."

Nov. 14, 1782.

"Ordered that Col. Washburn, Gen. Ward & Dr. Manning with such others as the Hon. Senate may join, be a Committee to wait on His Excellency. the Governor & renew the request made by the General Court for an adjournment. Sent up for concurrence."

"The Secretary brought down the following Message from His Excellency. the Governor.

Gentlemen of the Senate & Gentlemen of the House of Representatives. In the evening of the 12th inst. I received by a Committee of the General Court a request to adjourn the Court, at which time I had before me a Bill of very great importance to the people at large which had engaged the attention of the Genl. Court for a considerable time & had not been in my possession three days, besides a number of Resolves which the Secretary laid before me on the same day I received the Message, & even at the very time the Committee were with me requesting the Recess I received a number of Resolves from the General Court, for the consideration of which the Constitution points out a suitable time. These circumstances I was under a necessity of representing to the General Court, by the Secretary & I informed them I could not consistent with my duty to the public comply with the request of the Court that evening. The next morning I sent a written Message to the Court, stating, I think, in a decent manner my apprehensions with respect to the effect of the Bill & in the mean time adopting such measures as the Court should (deem) judge proper to obtain the sentiments of the neighboring states on the subject in Order that the Bill might have an equal operation. Presuming that this Message was under the Consideration of the Court, and momentarily expecting an answer, when I this day received another Message renewing the application for a Recess, altho' a Resolve had been laid before me which had passed the Court just before I received the Message. It is my wish at all times to have it in my power to comply with the request of the General Court, and to promote the interest of the Commonwealth, & to lessen the public expenses & could I yesterday have received the determination of the Two Houses in consequence of my Message a Recess would have taken place very soon after; and I am even now disposed to adjourn the Court agreeably to their request, as I cannot in any, the least degree, fee myself liable to the charge of preventing the adjournment of the Court; for it cannot escape the notice of the Two Houses that the Excise Bill has not been before me five days agreeable to the Constitution & consequently cannot operate as

~~day in January~~ at which time I had before me a Bill of very great to the people at large importance, which had engag'd the attention of the General a considerable Time

Court for ~~at least five weeks~~, & had not been in my Possession three days, beside a number of Resolves which the Secretary laid before me on the Same Day I Rec'd the Message and even at the very Time the Committee were with me ~~all so they had~~ Requesting the

Recess, I Rec'd a number of Resolves from the General Court, ~~for of all~~ for the Consideration of which the Constitution points out a suitable time. These Circumstances I was under a necessity of Representing to the General Court by the Secretary, and informing them I could not consistent with my Duty to the Publick comply with the Request of the Court that Evening. ~~On~~ The next morning I Sent a written Message to the Court, stating I think

an Act. However, if the General Assembly are, notwithstanding desirous of a Recess:—upon a significance of their pleasure I will immediately adjourn them.

Boston, Nov. 14, 1782.

JOHN HANCOCK."

" May it please your Excellency,

The Two Branches of the General Court have taken into mature consideration your Message of this date and are clearly of opinion that the Excise Bill so called by your Excellency, has been before your Excellency the full time prescribed by the Constitution and is therefore become a law.

Read and concurred, & Mr. Sprague Col. Thatcher & Mr. Smead are joined. And it is further Ordered that said Committee renew the request made to his Excellency, the Governor for an adjournment of the General Court. Sent up for concurrence."

" The Secretary came down & said that he was directed by His Excellency, the Governor to acquaint the General Court that he had approved of the following Acts (See list on file) & that it was His Excellency's pleasure that the said Court should be adjourned to the last Wednesday of January next."

Excise Bill, Nov. 7, 1782.

" A Bill entitled an Act for repealing an Act entitled an Act laying certain duties of excise on certain articles therein mentioned for the purpose of paying the interest on Government Securities, and for repealing another Act entitled an Act in addition unto & for amending & explaining an Act made in the year 1781, laying certain duties of Excise on certain articles therein mentioned for the purposes of paying the interest on Government Securities, & for repealing one other Act entitled an Act making provision for giving permits to the Distillers & the Importers of those articles which are subject to an Excise duty: Also for repealing one other Act entitled an Act in addition unto an Act entitled an Act for laying certain duties of Excise on certain articles therein mentioned for the purpose of paying interest on Government Securities—And for altering another Act entitled an Act in addition unto & for amending & explaining the Act made in the year 1781 laying certain duties of Excise on certain articles therein mentioned for the purpose of paying the interest on Government Securities & for raising the revenue by Excise on certain articles therein mentioned for the payment of interest on Government consolidated securities & interest on the notes issued to the Officers & Soldiers of the Massachusetts Line of the Army for the respective balances due to them for their services in the year one thousand Seven Hundred and eighty.—

Nov. 8th. This Engrossed Bill having had three several readings, passed to be Enacted."

in a decent manner my apprehension with Respect to the Effect of the Bill, and in the same decent manner submitting ~~it~~ to their Consideration the propriety of Referring the Bill to the next Sessions, & in the mean time adopting such measures as the Court should Judge proper to obtain the Sentiment of the neighboring States on the Subject in order that the Bill might have an equal operation.

To this Message I have been waiting an Answer untill by a Committee at half past 12 o'clock this Day I Rec'd another Message from the General Court Requesting a Recess, altho' I had just before Rec'd a new Resolve from the Court, and had sent two important Letters to the Court which I had Rec'd last night by the Post from the Superintendant of Finance; I have ~~no Disposition to Enter into an Alteration~~

Presuming that this Message was under the Consideration of the Court, & momentarily expecting an Answer when I this Day Rec'd another Message Renewing the Application for [a] Recess, had been laid before me

altho a Resolve [^] which had passed the Court just before I Rec'd the message. ~~I am at a loss~~ It is my wish at all to have it in my power times [^] to comply with the Requests of the General Court, and to promote the Interest of the Common Wealth & to Lessen the public Expences, & could I yesterday have ~~been~~ Rec'd the Determination of the ~~General Court~~ Two Houses, in consequence of my Message, a Recess would have Taken Place very soon after, and I am even now dispos'd to adjourn the Court, agreeably to their Request ~~of~~ J H

Boston Nov^r 14 1782

as ~~for~~ I cannot in any the least Degree feel my self liable to the charge of preventing the Adjournment of the Court. ~~It would have given me much pleasure to have been able~~ and upon the fresh Signification of the pleasure of the Gen^l Court, that ~~the General Court~~ if it is their Intention that the Excise Bills should not operate untill the next Session ~~I cannot and I must I shall not~~ I will immediately ~~comp~~ adjourn the Gen^l Court agreeably to their ~~Request~~ ~~and have given th and upon the first sig~~ for it ~~the~~ cannot escape the notice of the Two Houses that the Excise Bill has not been ~~for the Message will please to~~

agreeably to the Constitution

before me Five Days [^] and consequently cannot operate

~~libl~~

as an Act, however if the General Court are notwithstanding desirous of a Recess, upon a Signification of their pleasure I will immediately adjourn them J H

Boston 14 ~~D~~ Novem 1782.

Gentlemen of the Senate & Gentlemen of the House of Representatives

In Consequence of my Message of this Afternoon, I have Rec'd from the Two Branches of the General Court by ~~their~~ a Committee their ~~that they are clearly of~~ opinion that the Excise Bill has been before me the full Time prescribed by the Con- and is become a Law.

stitution [^] I must be allow'd to know the Time ~~when I Receive~~

I receive them

for I always note upon Important Bills the precise time [^] am fully satisfied

and [^] ~~I am clearly of opinion that it~~ the Excise Bill has not been ~~constitutionally~~ before me five Days upon the principles of the Constitution, ~~I am not Disposed at this Time~~ and consequently I can by no means admit the Excise Bill to have pass'd into ~~an Act Law.~~ ~~My being~~ [Two words blotted out.] ~~if favor'd with the decision of the Two Branches of the General Court upon any special Message~~ ~~a I wish and~~ But as the Genl Court have renew'd their Message for a Recess, ~~if they have the Bill should be held up to the Publick in its present State, I have no Disposition to keep the C~~ and are inclin'd to Rise leaving the Excise Bill under its present Circumstances, I have Direct'd the Secretary to adjourn the General Court.

J H

Boston 14 Nov^r 1782.

Endorsed in John Hancock's handwriting "Messages to Genl Court Nov^r 14 1782."

The next draft also relates to State matters. It is addressed to William Greene, Governor of Rhode Island (1778-1786), and is dated January 7, 1783. It is as follows:—

Boston January 7th 1783.

Sir

Having Rec'd Information that one William Prentice an Inhabitant of this Common Wealth has been Detected in carrying on an Illicit Trade with our Enemies at New York, has been apprehended in the State over which you preside, and Committed to the Goal in Providence. In Consequence of this Information & of the Advice of Council which I have the Honor to Inclose your Excellency, I am to Request that your Excellency will be pleas'd to Give orders that the said Prentice be Deliver'd to Joseph Henderson Esq. Sheriff of the County of Suffolk or his Deputy to be Convey'd to Boston in order that Prentice & such others as have been Concerned with him in such illicit Trade may be Dealt with agreeable to Law.

I have had the Honor to Receive your Two Letters with their Inclosures respecting Mr. Thomas Brattle, which Papers by

Message I have laid before our Assembly, they have Committed
me

the Papers, & as soon as the Issue is laid before A which I most devoutly wish may be favourable to Mr. Brattle, I will give your Excellency the earliest information & at same time will write Mr. Brattle. I feel myself really oblig'd by your Excellency's interposition in fav. of Mr. Brattle, I really look upon him deserving every Notice, & have never hear'd a solid Objection why he should not years ago have been permitted to return to his Citizenship.

I have the Honor to be with every Sentiment of Respect & Esteem, your Excellency's

Most obed't hum^s Serv^t

J H

To His Excellency Governor Greene
of the State of Rhod. Island.

Of the two interesting subjects mentioned in this draft, no opportunity has been offered to make any research into the facts relating to the extradition of William Prentice named in the letter.¹ In regard to Thomas Brattle, Sabine in his "Loyalists of the American Revolution,"² gives a short account which I condense.

Thomas Brattle, the son of William Brattle,³ a man of remarkable versatility, was born at Cambridge 1742,

¹ Since this paper was read, through the kindness of Hon. William M. Olin, Secretary of the Commonwealth, I have gained the following information:—

"In 1783 and for a considerable period later a simple letter requesting or demanding the apprehension and surrender to Massachusetts officers of persons charged with crimes who had fled without the jurisdiction of the Commonwealth appears to have been all sufficient for the purpose.

"The earliest mention of warrants to enable state officers to secure prisoners requisitioned for shows that they were issued by the judges of the supreme judicial court and not by the governor as became the practice subsequently.

"The record of the proceedings in the case of William Prentice is probably in the files of the supreme judicial court, . . . although a letter from the governor of Rhode Island to the Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts commenting on the actions of Prentice and others and the necessity for severely punishing them for their illicit trading appears in the manuscript collection for the year 1782."

² I. 250, 251.

³ Of this William Brattle, Sabine says, "A man of more eminent talents and of greater eccentricities has seldom lived. . . . He graduated at Harvard University (College) in 1722. . . . He seems to have been of every profession, and to have been eminent in all. . . . As a clergyman, his preaching was acceptable; as a physician, he was celebrated and had an extensive practice; as a lawyer, he had an abundance of clients; while his military aptitudes secured the rank of Major General of the Militia." He supported Gage and went into exile. At the evacuation of Boston he went to Halifax and died there in 1776.

graduated at Harvard in 1760, and received the degree of A.M. from Yale and Nassau. He went to England in 1775, and was included in the Proscription and Banishment Act of 1778. While abroad he travelled through Great Britain, France, and Holland. He earnestly sought to aid his unfortunate countrymen who had been captured and were imprisoned. He came to Rhode Island in 1779. It is pleasant to know that the General Court of Massachusetts acted favorably in his case. The enactments against him were repealed in 1784, and he returned to Massachusetts, and took possession of his patrimony. Not so versatile as his father, he appears to have been a man of public spirit and noble characteristics. He died in 1801. Governor James Sullivan says of him, "In his death the sick, the poor, and the distressed have lost a liberal benefactor; politeness an ornament; and philanthropy, one of its most discreet and generous supporters."

This letter is the last of the Hancock papers in my possession. There remains one document. It is a letter from Thomas Cushing (1725-1788) who, though he, too, played a prominent part in Massachusetts history, has also received but scant attention in later times.

Thomas Cushing was born in Boston, March 24, 1725, and early took a prominent part in the community. He was for many years the representative of his native city in the General Court. He was Speaker of the House, 1763-1774, and signed most if not all official documents. He was on almost all the important public committees, and took part in the public meetings for redress of grievances. He was a member of the first and second Continental Congresses, but on account of his reluctance to support independence, was replaced by Elbridge Gerry. He, however, accepted independence and was active in the service of his country. He was a judge, and was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1779, holding the office by annual re-election until the year of his death, 1788.

The fact of his caution, perhaps we may even term it timidity, and his reluctance to sever the relations with the mother country, have doubtless caused him to be also undervalued by later generations. In fact it is only in recent years that historians, biographers, and others have begun to do justice to the loyalists, and to the conservative and prudent men of the American Revolution. Probably most of this class believed themselves to be as patriotic as their younger and more sanguine brethren, and we must admit that they had good, if they are not to us convincing, reasons for their attitude. That they were proved to be on the wrong side, is not necessarily to their discredit, though it may show inability to grasp the situation, as well as lack of foresight.¹

This letter is addressed to "The Honble John Hancock, Esqr. at Philadelphia." It relates to the fitting out of naval vessels, and has a bid for future employment, which he afterwards secured.² It is as follows:—

Boston April 25, 1776.

Dear Sir

I forgot to mention in my last, that the Commissary General has left in these parts a large quantity of Provisions for the use of the Army, I would therefore submit it to your Consideration whether it would not be advisable for the Congress to direct the Commissary General or his Deputy here to sell or deliver me such a quantity of Provisions of all kinds as will be necessary to fix off the Ships building here; as he has lately purchased such large quantities in the four New England Governments for the army, I believe I shall find it difficult to get a sufficient Supply in these parts, the Deputy Commissary says they can be spared as well as not—As soon as the Ships are equipped for the Sea I shall have finished the Business assigned me & I hope I shall be able to do it to general acceptance.

I shall still be ready to serve the Continent all in my Power and to promote the Cause we are engaged in & if any thing

¹ As an example of change of opinion in historians it may be noted that Bancroft, in the early editions of his history, when speaking of Cushing's attitude in Congress says, "When Cushing's constituents heard of his pusillanimous wavering, they elected Elbridge Gerry to his place (8:243, 9th ed., 1890). In the author's Final Revision the adjective "pusillanimous" is dropped (4:316).

² See Penna. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., X., 355, Oct., 1896.

~~turns up wherein I can be serviceable should be glad to be informed, perhaps an Agent for the Continental Vessels will be~~ needed in this Province, as this is a business in my way, when such an Appointment is made, I should be obliged to you for your Interest or that I may be informed in any other way wherein you think I can be serviceable.

I remain with great respect yr Sincere Friend & humble sevt

THOMAS CUSHING.

[Endorsed in John Hancock's handwriting "Thomas Cushing April 1776."]

This closes the list of documents which I have had the privilege of presenting to you. If they have served to renew interest in these two public men of old time it is all that I desire.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE presence in the same city and within a block of each other of the Worcester Society of Antiquity, incorporated in 1877, and the American Antiquarian Society, incorporated in 1812, still creates in some minds inconvenient confusion. A list of the names given to both societies during the past twenty-five years would be curious and instructive reading. The latest effort to rechristen this ancient and honorable institution appears in a communication addressed "To the Librarian of the American Abyssinian Society!"

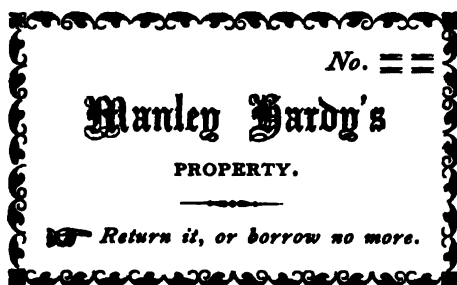
The library committee, to whom the purchase of a type-writing machine was referred, has provided that most desirable library appliance. Colonel William Henshaw's journal and orderly books, bequeathed to the Society conditionally by Miss Harriet E. Henshaw of Leicester, Massachusetts, are being type-written under the ruling of Hon. Charles A. Denny, Executor. The provisions of the will, with other facts relating to this important bequest, may be found in the librarian's report of October, 1896.

The Hall basement has been renovated and an asphalt floor laid; the draft of the large chimney increased on account of the necessity for the use of soft coal; the spreading tendency of the iron book-stack checked; and in other ways the library committee has sought to provide safety and comfort for all.

Miss Christine Robinson became a regular member of the library staff on January 1, 1903, after serving two months as a volunteer assistant.

The Odd Volume Club visited the library on November 26, 1902, under the guidance of their associates and ours—Mr. Nathaniel Paine and Dr. Charles L. Nichols. Such callers are quite sure to impart as well as to receive useful information and are therefore greeted with special pleasure.

The present *Ex Libris* interest leads me to submit a specimen, probably of the eighteenth century, though in a London imprint of the seventeenth :



I also give a lined title of this typical, exhaustive, rubricated 12^o of 462 pages, as an example of the class of books the owner wished to protect :

THE | SCEPTICAL CHYMIST : | OR | CHYMICO-PHYSICAL
 | Doubts & Paradoxes, | Touching the | SPAGYRIST's |
 PRINCIPLES | Commonly call'd | Hypostatical. | As they
 are wont to be Propos'd and | Defended by the Generality
 of | Alchymists. | Whereunto is præmis'd Part of another
 Discourse | relating to the same Subject. | By | The
 Honourable ROBERT BOYLE, Esq.

The following information regarding a rare eighteenth century newspaper is offered :—

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Washington, D. C., March 31, 1903.

Dear Mr. BARTON :

I thank you very much for the memoranda about the *Massachusetts Gazette* [or the *Springfield and Northampton Weekly Advertiser*, 1782-1784]. You may perhaps be interested to know that we have just come into possession of a complete volume 1, with the exception of the first two pages of number 10. This volume was probably the office file. It bears the names on the fly-leaf of Elisha Babcock, Hartford, Conn., and Sidney Babcock, New Haven, Connecticut. It has been for many years the property of Mrs. W. H. Dickson of New Orleans, a descendant of the Babcocks. The missing leaf in this volume was clearly torn out after it was bound.

With regard to No. 19, I am satisfied, after close examination, that only two pages were printed of this number. You will note that it contains upon the first page a column of advertisements, which in other issues appear upon either the 3rd or 4th page.

Mr. Nelson, in his New Jersey Archives, makes the statement that the earliest number known is Vol. 1, No. 10. That is one excuse I have, for having bothered you.

Sincerely yours,

ALLAN B. SLAUSON,

Chief of Periodical Division.

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON, Librarian,
American Antiquarian Society,
Worcester, Mass.

In the interest of library economy, I call the attention of librarians and the friends of libraries to the waste of transportation funds. It should be more generally known that special, prepaid book-rates are offered by the express companies to all who care to avail themselves of the great reduction in cost. For instance, I have just paid expressage on books sent to us amounting to six times the charge by the United States Mail, which postal charge is also the special book-rate of the express companies. Petitions for lower postal rates on books transferred from one library to another are now before Congress.

Among the various devices to encourage the protection of bound volumes of newspapers, we have adopted for use on the outer covers of our own files and recommend for the use of other libraries the following :

PLEASE HANDLE WITH GREAT CARE.

1. The paper on which newspapers are printed is generally of poor quality and grows brittle with age.

2. Most newspapers are difficult or impossible to replace if worn or injured, and, unlike other publications, they will never be reprinted. Only a very small number of copies exist anywhere.

3. Future generations of readers have a claim on these volumes, which should be respected.

THEREFORE

PLEASE HANDLE CAREFULLY.

In the "Diary of Christopher Columbus Baldwin, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, 1829-1835," under date 5 October, 1831, is the following entry : "Attend Court and in the evening, at a meeting of the Historical Society, am chosen to make a report of all the proceedings of [the] 4th which report, with a bottle of wine and other appropriate articles, are to be enclosed in a tight and safe box, made for the purpose and committed to the care of the Antiquarian Society, and there remain unopened until the end of one hundred years, when they are to be brought forth and examined." In a foot note by Nathaniel Paine, editor, it is stated that "The bottle of wine is in the possession of the Antiquarian Society, but there is no record of the box having been deposited; neither Dr. Haven, the late librarian, or Mr. Barton, the present one, have been able to get any trace of it." Our steel safe protects the bottle, which is labeled "Wine. Deposited

for some future occasion. Worcester County Centennial Celebration Oct. 4, 1831." The address of Governor John Davis which was delivered on this occasion was not printed until the year 1839, when William Lincoln, editor, secured it for *The National Ægis*. It is possible that the missing box was opened to secure this oration, when the other "appropriate articles" were probably placed in the Society's Museum where the bottle was discovered. I offer this as a suggestion; and not as a solution of the problem.

I submit for information the following letter:

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Oct. 18, 1902.

MR. EDMUND M. BARTON,
Worcester, Mass.

Dear Sir:

Absence from the city has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of your kind reply to my letter of enquiry about Mather portraits and I beg you will now accept my sincere thanks. The portraits you report of Increase Mather by John Sturt are of English origin—Sturt being an Englishman, and so out of my present investigations—though it may interest—if you are not already possessed of the information—that the 1719 portrait is given by Whitmore (W. H.), as published in "The Life of Increase Mather," by his son Cotton Mather, Boston, 1723, printed by B. Green for R. Belknap, and the New York Library advise me they have this same portrait in "Sermons wherein those Eight Characters, &c." Boston, 1718. B. Green for Daniel Henchman.

With your copy [in *Angelographia*] this makes three works the portrait appears in—though you state that your portrait is laid in—the others claim it was published with their respective publications. It may be of interest to follow up. I am,

Yours very truly,

CHARLES H. WALSH.

The record of accessions for six months to April 15, shows gifts from three hundred and sixteen sources; namely, from thirty-eight members, one hundred and twenty-five persons not members and one hundred and fifty-three societies and institutions. We have received

from them fifty-five hundred and ninety-two books, forty-one hundred and twenty-two pamphlets, two bound and one hundred and forty-seven unbound volumes of newspapers, ten proclamations, two framed and six unframed engravings, seven maps, seven heliotypes, two photographs, and collections of programmes and newspaper clippings; by exchange, twelve books and nineteen pamphlets; and from the bindery, thirty-four volumes of magazines and four of newspapers: a total of fifty-six hundred and thirty-eight books, forty-one hundred and forty-one pamphlets, six bound and one hundred and forty-seven unbound volumes of newspapers, *etc.*

The list of givers and gifts suggests the following notes: while the number of contributing members has fallen a little below the average, an unusual number have given their own publications.

James Davie Butler, LL.D., of Madison, Wisconsin—fourth on our roll of membership—in the letter accompanying his semi-annual gift, writes: "Our Historical Society was the pioneer in its line west of the Alleghanies, and during the forty-five years of my life here it has been the thing for which I have cared most, and that while the association was in its cradle. I regret that I live too far away to re-kindle my historic zeal where it was first lighted up, under the roof of the old building of Isaiah Thomas."

Hon. Edward L. Davis, of our Council, has presented the rare volumes relating to the enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer,—the copies used by him as a member of the General Conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church, which considered and concluded this important work.

Councillor Samuel A. Green places alongside of his "Old Boston and Neighborhood" his companion volume containing ten facsimile reproductions relating to New England. Librarians have a special interest in Upham's

Washington presented by Dr. Green at the last meeting with remarks relating thereto. I am therefore asked to give supplementary facts with this acknowledgment. The title is "Life of Washington in the form of an Autobiography; the Narrative being, to a great extent, conducted by himself, in Extracts and Selections from his own Writings." It is a 12^o, in two volumes, bearing the imprint of Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb. Boston, 1840. The first contains the following explanatory note by the giver: "This copy of the Life of Washington came from the library of Dr. Thomas H. Webb (M.D. Harv. 1825), who was one of the publishers; and I bought it many years ago, soon after his death. Once on showing it to Mr. Upham, the writer of the book, he was quite surprised to learn that any copies were issued with a Boston imprint; and at my request then and there he wrote the lines on the fly-leaf of this volume. A few weeks ago I gave it to the library of Harvard College, with the understanding that it was to be returned to me, if a duplicate, which it proved to be; but it was stamped before the fact was known. See Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1875, page 20. Samuel A. Green, December 1, 1900."

The receipt of Mr. John T. Doyle's "Recovery of the Pious Fund," which he prepared for the "History of the Bench and Bar of California," recalls his services as counsel in this now celebrated case—the first to be finally passed upon by the International Arbitration Tribunal. It is perhaps worthy of note that in June, 1880, Mr. Doyle wisely compiled as many copies of the printed papers relating to the Pious Fund of the Californias as his materials afforded; "from 25 to 40 in all, some more, some less complete—for deposit in public libraries, where they may be accessible to any persons to whom in the future they may prove of interest or value." Our bound copy, received June 6, 1881, contains an historical intro-

duction by Mr. Doyle and the following title: Some Account | of | the Pious Fund of California | and | The Litigation to Recover it. | By John T. Doyle. | San Francisco. | 1880. Our roll of members also reminds us that Hon. J. C. Bancroft Davis was the Secretary of the Alabama Claims Treaty Commission and that Hon. Dwight Foster served officially in the Arbitration of the Fishery Claims.

Mr. Waldo Lincoln in the note accompanying his exhaustive work on the Waldo Family writes: "It gives me great pleasure to present to the library of the American Antiquarian Society a copy of the Genealogy of the Waldo Family, in the compilation of which I was much assisted by the valuable collections of the Society."

Dr. Charles L. Nichols has added to our ten English and American editions of John Mason's "Self Knowledge" our founder's Worcester issue of 1785. He has also offered to give his excessively rare first edition (1669) of Morton's New England Memorial if needed to complete our imperfect copy.

Your librarian—without mentioning names—would render especial thanks to those persons not members who have presented their finished work on account of aid in its preparation. Doubtless modesty prevents some authors and forgetfulness others from attending to this privilege.

The family of our late Councillor Hon. P. Emory Aldrich has made a large contribution of miscellaneous literature. While classifying the material I discovered a circular in quarto form bearing the endorsement: "I wrote this circular & circulated it through the mail from Worcester. The meeting at Chapman Hall was largely attended & was the first in a series of meetings assembled in the formation of the Republican party of Mass. P. E. A." Following is the historic call:

BOSTON, AUGUST 9TH, 1855.

SIR:—At a Meeting of gentlemen recently assembled in this city, from various sections of the State, the undersigned were

appointed a Committee, with instructions to invite yourself and many other gentlemen from every portion of the Commonwealth, and all the different political parties, to meet in Chapman Hall, in Chapman Place, (which leads from School Street), in the City of Boston, on THURSDAY, the 16th day of August instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M., for the purpose, then and there, after free and full discussion, and consultation, of devising the best mode of concentrating and giving expression to the almost universal opposition of Massachusetts to the repeal of the "Great Ordinance of Freedom," and to the more recent aggressions of the Slave Power, in its invasion of Kansas, and the overthrow of the rights of the Free Settlers of that Territory. One important question, to be considered, at this meeting, will be, the expediency of calling a Convention of the people of the State, without distinction of party, with the view of placing Massachusetts in sympathy and connection with the great republican movement now in progress.

The meeting is to be what is plainly indicated above; and no person who attends it, is to be compromised or bound by its doings, except by his own free choice, after he is made fully aware of all its acts and objects. Permit us to hope that you will favor the meeting with your presence and counsel.

Will you, at an early day, inform some one of the Committee, by letter or otherwise, whether you will be able to accept this invitation; and if you cannot, will you further inform us whether we may be allowed to append your name to the call for such a Convention, as is above alluded to.

Very Respectfully, Your Fellow Citizens,

SAMUEL BOWLES, Springfield;
JOHN M. CLARK, Boston;
SAMUEL G. REED, Greenfield;
GERSHAM B. WESTON, Duxbury;
EDWIN F. JENKS, South Adams;
IVERS PHILLIPS, Fitchburg;
JOHN A. GOODWIN, Lowell;
P. EMORY ALDRICH, Worcester.

In the librarian's report of April 28, 1897, attention was called to "A Rhyming Geography; Or A Poetic Description of America, &c., by Victorianus Clark." 8°. Hartford, 1819. Evidence has been received quite recently that the teaching of geography with the musical attachment was revived about the year 1850. The gift of Mr. Francis W. Blacker is the work to which reference is made. It is entitled: The | Poetical Geography, | Designed to

Accompany | Outline Maps or School Atlases. | To which are added the Rules of Arithmetic in Rhyme. | By George Van Waters. | Published at Cincinnati. | And sold by Agents only. | 1851. At the foot of page four of the cover of this quarto text-book of eighty pages is the following: "It is expected that Agents will act the honorable part with subscribers, and never sell the work for less than the subscription price, for this is abusing our patrons, which is the *worst species of ingratitude*. As the Poetical Geography is sold only by subscription, Agents are expected to call at every house, that every one may have a chance to purchase one or more copies."

The method of instruction will best appear in the following extracts:

POLAR CIRCLES.

And of the Polar Circles now I'll tell:
They with the *Tropics* are found *parallel*;
Just *twenty three, one half*, and nothing less (*23½*),
Aloof the Poles;—these in degrees, I guess.

OCEANS.

An *Ocean* is a vast extent of brine,
Of salt sea water, boundless and sublime.

Five oceans there are found upon this ball:
Pacific, first, the largest of them all;
To Asia and America allied,
Eight thousand long and full *twelve thousand* wide.

Atlantic, second, in the list survey,
Upon the west, bound by *America*;
While *Africa* and *Europe*, on the east,
Heave up their sea-walls to her waves of yeast;
Three thousand miles in width—*eight thousand* long,
In such a space *Atlantic* sings her song.

The *Indian Ocean* is the third in size,—
Upon the north, the *Asiatic* shores arise;
Australia's east; while *Africa's* west her tide:
Four thousand long, and full *three thousand* wide.

The *Antarctic Ocean* laves the Southern Pole;
While, round the North, the *Arctic* billows roll:
Asia, and Europe, North America,
With Greenland, are the boundaries of this sea.

Preceding "The Rules of Arithmetic in Verse" are the following definitions :

ADDITION.

Addition, is joining more numbers than one,
And putting together to make a whole sum,
Addition's the rule that learns (*sic*) us to count,
And the sum that's produced is called the *amount*.

SUBTRACTION.

Subtraction, it teaches, when numbers are given,
One greater, one less, as 10 stands to 7,
To find out their difference, for difference we see,
And when worked and achieved, we find to be 3.

MULTIPLICATION.

Now, *Multiplication*, its nature I'll show,
It's a short way of working *Addition*, you know,
When the same number comes, in prose or in rhymes,
To be used or repeated a number of times—
Let the *less* number under the *greater* one stand,
Call one the *multiplier*, one the *Multiplicand*,—
Name the answer the *product*,—and then just annex
For the sign of the rule, the letter—*x*.

DIVISION.

Next simple *Division*, the fourth Rule is seen,
It's a short way of working *Subtraction*, (I ween),
It shows us *Subtraction*, its smallest remains,
And how often one number another contains.
The *Divisor* is that, which divides, as you see,
The *Dividend's* that, which divided must be.
The *answer* is called the *Quotient*, and shows
How oft the divisor in the dividend goes.

In the appendix to the "Silas Constant Journal"—the gift of Mrs. Emily Warren Roebling, since deceased—may be found the documentary defence of Gen. Gouverneur K. Warren against the charges of Gen. Philip H. Sheridan. Warren was relieved of the command of the Fifth Army Corps of the Army of the Potomac after the battle of Five Forks, in favor of Gen. Charles Griffin.

Valuable archæological and ethnological material has been received from the Bureau of American Ethnology, American Museum of Natural History, Field Columbian Museum, Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology and the University of Pennsylvania. The gifts from historical societies indicate an increasing disposition to work more carefully their chosen fields of labor and not to

trench upon the preserves of others. The careful naming of all such organizations at their birth is more and more recognized as of the first importance whether the name selected be from the town, county, Indian settlement, the state or nation. The Pennsylvania Society of New York has set a good example by a new departure. Their year books instead of merely reporting the usual after-dinner speeches, contain much Pennsylvania history with illustrations. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts has supplied much historical and biographical material. The recent law encouraging the printing of the vital statistics of its towns to the year 1850, is already bearing fruit. As our Council took favorable action in this first effort, so it is hoped our wide-spread membership—especially in the older States—will encourage this important movement.

The Worcester Baptist Association, which had presented a set of its minutes from 1879 to 1885 in sumptuous binding, has added as a companion volume those from 1886 to 1902.

Our Proceedings contain much material along the lines suggested by the following communications :

BOSTON, 6 February, 1903.

Dear Mr. BARTON :—

My American postal studies have led me into the story of American engraving. The postage stamp is the *terminus ex quo*, and I find some remarkable results: 1. That steel engraving is of Massachusetts origin, whence the process was carried to London in 1809; 2. That we engraved bank-notes long before England.

Evidence on this latter point appears in the latest volume, 12, of our Suffolk Deeds, just printed. Whatever we did earlier, we issued bank-notes on and after 1 September, 1681, and while the mode of their manufacture is not yet known, we know that in 1688 we had a rolling-press in Boston, for printing from copper-plates. Every student knows that the Massachusetts legal-tender notes of 10 December, 1690, were printed from copper-plates.

Could you, without too much trouble, and for the honor of our country, give me a list of what old bills of credit, say, up to

1720, you have in your collection? The number may not exceed three or four.

Worcester men will be glad to know that our first bank-director of 1681, truly the financial father of the bank, was Daniel HENCHMAN (d. in Worcester 15 October, 1685).

With great respect,

C. W. ERNST.

Boston, 10 February, 1908.

Dear Mr. BARTON:—

The Worcester item I sent you is all right. It appears from the Sewall diary that Daniel HENCHMAN died in Worcester on Thursday 15/25 October, 1685, that he was buried there on the day following (probably the earliest person of note buried in Worcester), and from the Boston records (Old-South Church, Town Records, Suffolk Deeds, Suffolk Probate records) we know that he was a teacher in the Boston Latin School, a captain in the war of 1675, a man of property, and assuredly our first bank manager in this country. His bank began operations on 1 September, 1681, and was entirely successful. It appears to have made John Woodbridge rich (*teste* J. Hammond Trumbull), and one may suppose the bank to have ended when the managing director, HENCHMAN, died in 1685.

The intellectual genealogy of that mortgage bank is easily traced to Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, who was told in London by John Milton's friend, Samuel Hartlib. Winthrop proposed a bank to the Royal Society, which remained in apathy; Boston and Daniel HENCHMAN acted, and were rewarded. It is certain that the Boston bank rested upon the principles set forth by Hartlib, who opposed William Potter. HENCHMAN had a good library, as appears from his inventory.

It does not surprise me that we had a bank before England, meaning a bank of issue. We began 1681, England in 1694. It does not surprise me that we began our copper-engraving in making bank-notes. It is a fact, also, that, in order to assure uniformity in the appearance of bank-notes, we invented steel-engraving about 1800, the inventor being Jacob Perkins, Newburyport, whose methods are now in use.

I wish Massachusetts had one museum devoted, not to Japan or ancient Chaldaea, but to things actually done in Massachusetts, by Massachusetts people, for the good of mankind. Such a museum would be an inspiration, and I wish it might stand in the heart of the Commonwealth.

Very truly yours,

C. W. ERNST.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Three magazines, in continuation.
- BOWDITCH, CHARLES P., Boston.—Förstemann's "Commentar zur Madridrer Mayahandschrift."
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—Three of his own publications.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Three pamphlets.
- CHAVERO, ALFREDO, Mexico, Mex.—Three of his own publications.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His "Lawful Money 1778 and 1779"; "Tracts relating to the Currency of the Massachusetts Bay, 1682-1720," with notes by Mr. Davis; fourteen books; and one hundred and fifty-seven pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Four volumes relating to the enrichment of the Book of Common Prayer; four books; and eighty pamphlets.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—One pamphlet.
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., LITT. D., New Haven, Conn.—"Record of the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Yale University."
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL. D., Baltimore, Md.—Four of his own publications.
- GREEN, HON. SAMUEL A., Boston.—His "Ten facsimile reproductions relating to New England"; his third supplementary list of early American imprints; Upham's "Life of George Washington"; five books; one hundred and sixty-three pamphlets; one heliotype; one proclamation; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Savannah, Ga.—One pamphlet.
- HAYNES, GEORGE H., Ph.D., Worcester.—Newspaper clippings.
- HOAR, HON. GEORGE F., Worcester.—"In Memoriam Horace Gray," containing Mr. Hoar's tribute to Justice Gray; five books; two hundred and fifty-two pamphlets; two engravings; and one proclamation.
- HOAR, ROCKWOOD, Worcester.—Ninety numbers of "The Congressional Record" 1902-1903.

- HUNTINGTON, REV. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His address commemorative of Eugene Augustus Hoffman.
- LINCOLN, WALDO, Worcester.—His "Genealogy of the Waldo Family, A Record of the Descendants of Cornelius Waldo of Ipswich, Mass. from 1646 to 1900"; one book; and six pamphlets.
- LOUBAT, JOSEPH F., LL.D., Paris, France.—His address at the opening of the Thirteenth International Congress of Americanists; and the "Codex Vaticanus" No. 3773.
- McMASTER, JOHN B., Litt.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Daniel Webster."
- MATTHEWS, ALBERT, Boston.—Two of his own publications.
- MOORE, CLARENCE B., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His "Certain Aboriginal Remains of the Northwest Florida Coast." Part II.
- NICHOLS, CHARLES L., M.D., Worcester.—John Mason's "Self Knowledge," 8°, Isaiah Thomas, Worcester, 1789.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Two of his own publications; four books; one hundred and fifty-five pamphlets; three manuscript volumes; and the "Boston Evening Transcript," in continuation.
- PEET, STEPHEN D., Ph.D., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—His "American Anti-quarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- ROGERS, HORATIO, LL.D., Providence, R. I.—"Biographical Sketches."
- SALISBURY, HON. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Edward E. Salisbury's "Biographical Memoranda of the Class of 1832 in Yale College"; thirty copies of "Worcester, Massachusetts, about 1840" by Mrs. E. O. P. Sturgis; four books; two hundred and sixty-three pamphlets; and four files of newspapers.
- UTLEY, SAMUEL, Worcester.—Eighty books; and eighty pamphlets.
- VOLLGRAFF, JOHANN C., L.H.D., Brussels, Belgium.—Title page introduction and appendix to Gevaert and Vollgraff's "Les Problèmes Musicaux d'Aristote."
- WALKER, REV. WILLISTON, D.D., New Haven, Conn.—His "Sandermanians of New England."
- WRIGHT, CARROLL D., LL.D., *Commissioner*, Washington, D. C.—Publications of the United States Department of Labor, as issued.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

- ALDRICH, CHARLES F., *Executor*, Worcester.—Two hundred and ninety-seven books; eight hundred and thirty-four pamphlets; three account books; two bound volumes of newspapers; and a framed engraving.
- APPLETON, D. AND COMPANY, New York.—"The Monthly Bulletin," as issued.
- ARCHITECTURAL RECORD COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Architectural Record."
- ARGONAUT PUBLISHING COMPANY, San Francisco, Cal.—Numbers of "The Argonaut."

ARNOLD, EDWARD, *Publisher*, London, Eng.—Numbers of "The National Review."

B. F. STEVENS AND BROWN, London, England.—Two numbers of magazines.

BAKER, M. N., *Editor*, New York.—Numbers of "Engineering News."

BAKER AND TAYLOR COMPANY, New York.—"The Monthly Bulletin," as issued.

BARKER, ALBERT W., Worcester.—One newspaper.

BARTON, MISS CLARA, *President*, Washington, D. C.—Her report of the Seventh International Conference of the Red Cross, at St. Petersburg, 1902.

BARTON, MISS LYDIA M., Worcester.—"The Association Record," in continuation.

BARTON, WM. SUMNER, FAMILY OF, Worcester.—Four books; one hundred and forty-eight pamphlets; one portrait; "The Parish," 1886-1902; collections of programmes, 1838-1873; and newspaper clippings.

BATCHELLER, FRANCIS, Spencer.—Frances Bartlett's "Story of Old Brookfield."

BENTON, JOSIAH H., Jr., Boston.—"Statements in favor of Legislation to Regulate the Assignment of Unearned Wages."

BLACKER, FRANCIS W., Worcester.—Four books.

BLACKSTON'S SON AND COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of "The Medical Book."

BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—"The Bulletin of Bibliography," as issued.

BOURINOT, MRS. JOHN G., Ottawa, P. Q.—Tributes to Sir John G. Bourinot.

BROWNELL, MRS. GEORGE L., Worcester.—Twenty-three pamphlets.

CANFIELD, MISS PENELOPE W. S., Worcester.—"The Army and Navy Journal," in continuation; and numbers of "The London Weekly Times."

CARMACK, HON. EDWARD W., Memphis, Tenn.—His speech on "Court-martial in the Philippines."

CHAMBERLIN, MRS. HENRY H., Worcester.—Seven numbers of "The Massachusetts Quarterly Review," 1848-1850.

COLE, GEORGE W., New York.—His "Compiling a Bibliography."

CONANT, LEVI L., Ph.D., Worcester.—Worcester Directory for 1899.

CORNISH, LOUIS H., New York.—"The Spirit of '76," as issued.

COUSINS, REV. EDGAR M., *Secretary*, Thomaston, Me.—Minutes of the Maine General Conference, 1902.

CRITIC COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Critic."

CROSS, HARRY I., Alta, Cal.—Agassiz Hall School Catalogue, 1902.

- CUNNINGHAM, HENRY W., Boston.—Two photographic group pictures of the class '82, Harvard University; and portrait of President Joseph McKean.
- CURRIER, FESTUS C., Fitchburg.—His "Reminiscences and Observations of the Nineteenth Century."
- CUTTER, CHARLES A., Northampton.—His "Library Facilities of Northampton."
- DALL, MRS. CAROLINE H., Boston.—"Memorial to Charles Henry Appleton Dall."
- DE MENIL, ALEXANDER N., St. Louis, Mo.—"The Hesperian," as issued.
- DEPEW, HON. CHAUNCEY, New York.—His speeches in U. S. Senate, December 17, 1902–February 14, 1903.
- DODD, MEAD AND COMPANY, New York.—Paltstitt's "Bibliography of the works of Philip Freneau."
- EARLE, MRS. ALICE MORSE, Brooklyn, N. Y.—"Her Sun-Dials and Roses of Yesterday."
- ENDICOTT, WILLIAM C., JR., Salem.—Tributes to William C. Endicott, LL.D.
- ESTES, REV. DAVID F., Hamilton, N. Y.—Thirteen books; and two pamphlets.
- EVERETT, OLIVER H., M.D., Worcester.—"Descendants of Richard Everett of Dedham, Mass."
- FARQUHAR, DAVID, Cambridge.—One book.
- FISKE, WILLARD, Florence, Italy.—His paper on "The Lost Manuscript of Rev. Louis Rou."
- FLETCHER, HON. EDWARD F., *Mayor*, Worcester.—His Inaugural Address, January 5, 1903.
- FOSTER, BURNSIDE, M.D., *Editor*, St. Paul, Minn.—"An account of Dr. Thaddeus Maccarty, a New England Country Doctor of Pre-Revolutionary Days."
- FOX, FALTZ AND COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of "The Druggist Sundryman."
- FOX, IRVING P., *Manager*, Boston.—"The Church Militant," as issued; and four numbers to complete file.
- FROWDE, HENRY, London, England.—"The Periodical," as issued.
- GEORGE F. HEWETT COMPANY, Worcester.—Two historic calendars.
- GETCHELL, ALBERT C., M.D., Worcester.—One hundred and one pamphlets.
- GINN AND COMPANY, Boston.—"The Text Book Bulletin," as issued.
- GODARD, GEORGE S., Hartford, Conn.—Wilbraham Academy Alumni Register, 1903.

- GOLDEN RULE COMPANY, Boston.—"The Christian Endeavor World," as issued.
- GRAY, MRS. HORACE, Washington, D. C.—Tributes to Justice Horace Gray.
- GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—His "A Dreamer's Excuse to the Harvard Class of 1862," on its fortieth anniversary; forty-five books; one hundred and forty-two pamphlets; and "Banker and Tradesman," 1896-1900.
- GREEN, MARTIN, Worcester.—Sixty-three books; eight hundred and fifty-six pamphlets; three photographs; three maps; and a blue print.
- GREGGON, REV. JOHN, Littleton, N. H.—One pamphlet; and twelve circulars of early date.
- HALE, GEORGE W., Deadwood, S. D.—His "Earthquakes, their Origin and Phenomena."
- HASSAM, JOHN T., Boston.—Two of his own publications.
- HERRMANN, OSCAR, New York.—His "Pirates and Piracy."
- HIGGINSON, THOS. WENTWORTH, LL.D., Cambridge.—Steiner's "Nathaniel Higginson, Royal Governor of Madras, 1692-1698."
- HILLS, WILLIAM S., Boston.—His "Genealogical data relating to the Ancestry and Descendants of William Hills."
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, LL.D., Amherst.—The General Catalogue of Amherst College, 1821-1890.
- HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York.—General Society of the Sons of the Revolution. Proceedings of triennial meeting, 1902.
- HOSHI, HAJIME, *Publisher*, New York.—"Japan and America," as issued.
- HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, Boston.—"The Literary Bulletin," as issued.
- INGRAM, MRS. WILLIAM, Springfield.—Whelpley's Compend of History.
- JACQUES, G. ET CIE, Paris.—Numbers of "Études Socialistes."
- JOHNSON, MR. CHARLES R., Worcester.—Twenty-nine books; one hundred and twenty-three pamphlets; and two maps.
- JOHNSON, CLIFTON, *Editor*, Hadley.—The second edition of Warren Burton's "District School as it Was."
- KIMBALL, JOHN E., Oxford.—His "History of the Library Movement in the Town of Oxford."
- LIBBIE, FREDERICK J., Boston.—"Prospective View of Boston Harbor, Islands and Men-of-War Landing of the 29th and 14th Regiments, October 1, 1768."
- LIPPINCOTT, J. B., COMPANY, Philadelphia, Pa.—"Maryland as a Palatinate," by Constance Lippincott.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND COMPANY, New York.—“Notes on Books,” as issued.

MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.—“The Monthly List,” as issued.

MANNING, HON. DAVID, Worcester.—Eight books; one hundred and forty-four pamphlets; and two maps.

MASSACHUSETTS WOMAN’S RELIEF CORPS.—Journals of the twenty-third State and nineteenth National Conventions.

MEN OF TO-MORROW COMPANY, Albany, N. Y.—Numbers of “Men of To-Morrow.”

MESSENGER COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Messenger,” as issued.

MOODY, MISS M. ELIZABETH, New York.—The Fiftieth Annual Report of St. Luke’s Home for Aged Women.

MOODY, WILLIAM R., *Editor*, Northfield.—Numbers of “The Christian at Work.”

MORSE, MISS FRANCES CLARY, Worcester.—Her “Furniture of the Olden Time”; and six heliotypes.

MURRAY, THOMAS H., *Secretary*, Boston.—His “Irish Rhode Islanders in the American Revolution.”

NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—“The Nation,” as issued.

NUTT, CHARLES, Worcester.—“The City of Worcester and Vicinity and Their Resources Illustrated.”

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of “Open Court.”

OUTING PUBLISHING COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of “The Outing.”

OWEN, THOMAS M., Montgomery, Ala.—Constitution of the State of Alabama, adopted September 3, 1901.

PAINÉ, JAMES P., Worcester.—Life of William Ewarts Gladstone; and parcels of English newspapers.

PELLET, ELLIS C., Worcester.—Sixty-one books; and twenty pamphlets.

PEOPLE PUBLISHING COMPANY, Cambridge.—Numbers of “The People.”

PHILLIPS, DAVID E., Columbus, O.—His “Monumental Inscriptions in the Old Cemetery at Rutland, Worcester County, Massachusetts.”

RANDOLPH, LEWIS V. F., New York.—His “Survivals.”

READE, MRS. W. C., Beverly.—One newspaper.

RICE, FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—His “Samuel Staples 1822-1902, a Memorial.”

RICH, MARSHALL N., *Editor*, Portland, Me.—“The Board of Trade Journal,” as issued.

ROBINSON, MRS. CHARLES, Lawrence, Kansas.—“Charles Robinson, Biographical Sketch and Historical Review”; and Brown’s “False Claims of Kansas Historians.”

- ROBINSON, MISS MARY, Worcester.—Three magazines in continuation; and sixty-seven pamphlets.
- ROCKWELL, ROBERT C., Pittsfield.—Five circulars of early date.
- ROEBLING, MRS. WASHINGTON A., Trenton, N. J.—“The Journal of the Reverend Silas Constant with Records and Notes.”
- RUSSELL, HON. JOHN E., Leicester.—His “Letter to the Committee of the Old Home Observance at Greenfield, Mass., July 31, 1902.”
- SCHLEICHER, FRÈRES, Paris, France.—Numbers of “Revue Générale de Bibliographie Française.”
- SCHNEIDER, CHARLES, Boston.—Numbers of “The Boston Plaindealer.”
- SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—“The Fitchburg Weekly Sentinel,” as issued.
- SHARP, MISS KATHARINE L., *Director*, Urbana, Ill.—State Library School Report, 1903.
- SPOONER, MRS. JENNIE C., Barre.—“The Barre Gazette,” as issued.
- SPY COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Worcester Daily Spy”; and “The Massachusetts Spy,” as issued.
- STAPLES, FRANCIS H., Worcester.—Two books; and two pamphlets.
- STOECKEL, CARL, Norfolk, Conn.—Three addresses delivered before the Litchfield University Club, 1902.
- STOUGHTENBURG, HENRY A., Glen Head, N. Y.—His “Documentary History of Oyster Bay, L. I., No. I.
- SWAN, ROBERT T., *Commissioner*, Boston.—Fifteenth Report on the Custody and Condition of Public Records.
- SWETT, CHARLES E., *Agent*, Boston.—Two pamphlets relating to the A. B. C. F. M.
- TELEGRAM NEWSPAPER COMPANY, Worcester.—“The Daily Telegram”; and “The Sunday Telegram,” in continuation.
- TILLINGHAST, CALEB B., *State Librarian*, Boston.—Six Massachusetts Thanksgiving and Arbor Day proclamations, to fill gaps in our files.
- TUCKERMAN, FREDERICK, *Editor*, Amherst.—“Letters of Samuel Cooper to Thomas Pownall, 1769-1777.”
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—“The Groton Landmark,” as issued.
- WARE, WILLIAM AND COMPANY, Boston.—Three numbers of “The Old Farmer’s Almanac,” to complete file.
- WARREN, WILLIAM F., LL.D., *President*, Boston.—His Annual Report of Boston University.
- WELSH, CHARLES, Boston.—His “Right Reading for Children.”
- WESBY, JOSEPH S. AND SONS, Worcester.—Seventeen books; and thirteen hundred and twenty-nine pamphlets.
- WHITCOMB, MISS MARY G., Worcester.—Thirty-four pamphlets.

WHITE, MRS. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—“The Journal of Zoöphily,” as issued.

WHITE, JOSEPH N., Winchendon Springs.—His “Genealogy of Joseph Nelson White.”

WILLIAMSON, MISS ADA C., Boston.—Tribute to Hon. Joseph Williamson.

WILLIS, J. L. M., *Editor*, Eliot, Me.—“Old Eliot,” as issued.

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BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—Publications of the Library, as issued.

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- BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL.—The Thirty-eighth Annual Report.
- BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BOSTON TRANSIT COMMISSION.—The Eighth Annual Report.
- BOSTON UNIVERSITY.—The University Year Book, volume 30.
- BOWDOIN COLLEGE.—Account of the Centennial Celebration, 1902.
- BROOKLINE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BROOKLYN INSTITUTE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- BROWN UNIVERSITY.—The Catalogue of 1902-1903.
- BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- BUFFALO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Sixth Annual Report.
- BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY.—Publications of the Bureau, as issued.
- CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- CARNEGIE FREE LIBRARY, Allegheny, Pa.—The Twelfth Annual Report.
- CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON.—The Year Book, No. 1, 1902.
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- CITY NATIONAL BANK, Worcester.—Four files of newspapers in continuation.
- COLGATE UNIVERSITY.—University publications, as issued.
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- COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.—"The Political Science Quarterly," as issued.
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- DAYTON PUBLIC LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.—The Forty-second Annual Report.
- DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
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- ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY OF BALTIMORE.—The Seventeenth Annual Report.
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- HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—Three of the University publications.
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- JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
- JOHN CRERAR LIBRARY, Chicago, Ill.—Publications of the Library, as issued.
- JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.
- KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- LAWRENCE ACADEMY, Groton.—The catalogue for 1902-1903.
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- MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- MASSACHUSETTS AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.—Four college pamphlets.
- MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Twenty-three volumes of State publications; and one proclamation.
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- MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.
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- NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
- NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Library publications, as issued.
- NEW YORK STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION.—Publications of the Association, numbers 83 and 84.
- NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—Seven books; and fifteen pamphlets relating to the State.
- NOVA SCOTIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE.—Publications of the Institute, as issued.
- OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.
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WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Publications of the Board, as issued.

WORCESTER BOARD OF TRADE.—Twelve books; two hundred and forty-seven pamphlets; and their "Worcester Magazine," as issued.

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WORCESTER DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Four books; and nine hundred and thirty-one pamphlets.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Eleven books; eleven hundred and fifty-four pamphlets; and eighty-seven files of newspapers, in continuation.

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THE FUND AT BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

In September, 1681, about thirteen years before the Bank of England was founded there was launched in Boston a financial experiment called "The Fund," or more explicitly, "The Fund at Boston in New England," the purpose of which was to furnish credits similar to Bank Credits, which should be available through transfers of account for the transaction of business between members of the Fund, and which might perhaps, ultimately, be accepted in use by the public. All knowledge of this movement lay dormant until our late associate, J. Hammond Trumbull, ran across a pamphlet in the Watkinson Library, entitled "Severals relating to the Fund," which was published in 1682, probably by "The Fund" itself, since the evident purpose of the tract was to familiarize its readers with the objects, the intentions, and the methods of the company. The title of this pamphlet, without precedent knowledge of what had taken place in Boston, is bewildering and incomprehensible, but once informed that the writer was treating of a quasi-bank in actual operation, the archaic use of the word "Severals" explains itself, and we can see that to contemporaries its meaning must have been as clear as would be to us such a title as "Particulars concerning the First Boston Bank." To Mr. Trumbull, the interpretation was obvious, and his familiarity with the literature of the period made it easy for him to understand the involved and ambiguous sentences of the writer. He saw at a glance the extraordinary value of the pamphlet and he embodied a description of it in the Council Report of the American

Antiquarian Society in October, 1884. This Report was separately printed under title, "First Essays at Banking in New-England," and the paper stands as a recognized authority to which one must turn for information concerning the earlier experiments in the way of banking in the region embraced within its title.

Mr. Trumbull was of opinion that "Severals relating to the Fund" must have been written by the Rev. John Woodbridge, and in his report, after discussing the question of authorship, he devoted himself to a review of the introductory essay in the tract which was descriptive not only of the Fund itself but also of certain preliminary attempts in the same direction which led up to it. One of these, begun March 30th, 1671, was carried on in private for many months and was for some reason stopped just as the promoters were about to publish their prospectus and emit what they called bills. The description of the Fund was followed in the original pamphlet by a set of rules and forms, the same in substance, the author says, as those communicated by him to the Council, which were on file when he wrote, in the Records of the General Court. He further states that it was his first intention when he was engaged in the composition of the tract to "place all the Rules relating to the *Fund* at the end of the *Narrative* and then the debates that are carried on concerning Commerce." For some reason he abandoned the plan of giving all the rules and changed the order of his materials, so that he felt called upon to explain that they would "now fall in mixt and this *Sheet* be closed with some Rules, most needful to be first known, for the directing those in Company, in their motion."

That which has been preserved for us of "Severals relating to the Fund" is the first sheet, eight pages quarto, containing the "Narrative" of which Mr. Trumbull made such good use, but also having at the end those Rules which the author considered "most needful to be first

known." We may congratulate ourselves, therefore, that we have at our command today, what was unquestionably the most valuable part of the pamphlet.

The story of this "Bank" necessarily came under my observation and study when I was at work upon "Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay." The narrative portion of the pamphlet had been Mr. Trumbull's theme. Where he had worked there was but little chance for a successor. It was to the Rules, therefore, that I turned and from their analysis made up the following brief account of the methods of the "Bank" so far as they might be inferred from the short extract therefrom at my command :

The portion of the pamphlet which has been handed down to us ends with a statement of the rules relating to the fund, the styles of entries, the forms of pass-bills, etc. These rules which are technical and deal with the methods of issuing the bills and keeping the accounts of the depositors are not given by Mr. Trumbull, but they evidently contemplate the establishment of a sort of clearing house where dealings between depositors could be adjusted by transfers of accounts. . . . No trace of the existence of these two experiments [March 30, 1671 and September, 1681], the second only of which was carried to an issue of bills, has been noted by any other student of the times. . . . It is not probable that the experiment amounted to anything.

The publication of the twelfth volume of *Suffolk Deeds*¹ entirely upsets the foundation upon which the concluding sentence of the above quotation is based. While I am not disposed to give the cumbrous system devised by the author of "Severals relating to the Fund," any great standing, or to advocate for it any claim for conspicuous success, still the discovery of six mortgages in this volume running to the

¹ The publication of a volume in this series is not likely to attract the notice of the general reader. It is but just, therefore, that I should acknowledge my obligation to Mr. H. H. Edes for calling my attention to the presence in the twelfth volume of matter bearing upon the questions in which I was especially interested.

"Fund," executed between September, 1681, and February, 1683, reveals the fact that the attempt was squarely made to meet the want in the colony produced by the scarcity of a metallic currency, through the establishment of interchangeable credits, and entitles the Fund to claim the position of leadership in the series of attempts to furnish some relief through credits based on land for the existing difficulties caused by the inadequacy of the circulating medium.

The examination of these mortgages naturally leads to a critical review of the language used in the abridged description of the rules just quoted. With the light thrown upon the subject by these instruments, I should not be inclined to call those who opened accounts in the Fund "depositors," but should adhere to the language of the author and of the documents and call them "Acceptors" or "Acceptors of Credit."¹

The theory advanced by me that the bills put forth were the notes of individuals must fall to the ground and Mr. Trumbull's statement that "a bank of Credit was established and began to issue bills in September, 1681," must be permitted to stand, qualified however by the important limitation that the bills issued were what are called in the tract "change-bills" and were not in the nature of a denominational currency, subdivided into amounts adapted for general circulation in place of coin.

The mortgages given to the Fund contained a power of sale, which is a feature of some interest, and it is probable that they are, as a whole, of enough importance to justify their separate enumeration. The following list gives the name of each mortgagor in the Suffolk Registry, the date of the mortgage and the page of the record in volume XII. :²

¹ It is evident that my statement (page 6, vol. I., *Currency and Banking*) to the effect that the author states that the Fund experiment had never been tried, is based upon a misinterpretation of his language.

² The Middlesex Registry, vol. VIII., p. 272, furnishes another Mortgage to the Fund. The grantor was John Starkie. The date, April 20, 1682. The grantees,

| Name. | Date. | Recorded Vol. XII. |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| Daniel Henschman, | September 14, 1681 | p. 103 |
| Daniel Henschman, | January 3, 1681 [82] | p. 142 |
| William Sumner, | February 25, 1681 [82] | p. 150 |
| Thomas Hunt, | May 22, 1682 | p. 213 |
| John Brooking, | August 4, 1682 | p. 255 |
| William Clough, | February 22, 1682 [83] | p. 333 |

The instruments all ran to Trustees of the Fund, three being to Hezekiah Usher and John Walley, and three to Hezekiah Usher and Adam Winthrop, the grantees being described in each instance as "Merchants, Trustees for the Acceptors [or, the Acceptors of firm or Credit] in said Fund."

It is to the consideration expressed in the mortgages that we should look for a description of just what the grantor received from the Fund, and if we examine these instruments in chronological succession, we ought to be able to ascertain through the language used in this clause, whether there was during this period any indication of a change of feeling on the part of the public towards the enterprise which would justify the promoters in the belief that they might ultimately extend their operations. The consideration of the first mortgage was defined to be "Fifty pounds Credit as money to bee given him [the grantor] in the Fund of sd place according to the Rules thereof." In the mortgages of January 3, 1681 [82] and February 25, 1681 [82] the words used are so many pounds "in firm as money to be granted him on demand in the Fund of sd place according to the Rules thereof." The mortgages of May 22, 1682, and August 4, 1682, add after the word "firm" the words "or credit" so that they read "in firm or credit as money" and the expression "to be sprung him" is substituted for "to be granted him." In the last

Hezekiah Usher and Adam Winthrop, trustees, etc. In the margin the Register noted "John Starkie to the Fund." The consideration was "in firm or credit," etc., etc. This mortgage furnishes no facts which would modify the conclusions drawn from the Suffolk mortgages.

mortgage the adjective current, or "currant" as it is spelled in the instrument itself, is inserted before money, making the reading "in firm or credit as currant money" and the concluding part or sentence is "to bee sprung him or passed to him as demanded in the Fund at sd place according to the Rules thereof."

It will be seen that the grantors received from the Fund only a credit upon the books of the company and that in defining this credit there were successive changes, the phrase in the first mortgage being "credit as money," which was altered to "in firm as money." This, in turn, became for a time "in firm or credit as money," and was finally converted into "in firm or credit as currant money." The "to bee granted him," originally used, was changed into "to bee sprung him" and that again into "to be sprung him or passed to him." These changes of phraseology do not seem to have any special significance. One might conjecture that different persons drew up the mortgages at different periods, or, perhaps, that in the prosecution of the business the use of such technical terms as "firm" and "sprung him" had grown up, but in any event, it is clear that in the last mortgage, as in the first, the consideration was merely a book credit to be used according to the rules of the Fund. Nor shall we find when we come to the examination of the proviso in the mortgages where in the terms set forth as to the method in which the grantor may redeem his property there is a similar opportunity to test this question, that there will be any occasion to alter this conclusion. If there is evidence of public approval of the scheme it is to be sought for elsewhere.

The habendum clause varied slightly in the different mortgages but its substantial features were as follows :

To have and to hold sd land with its privileges and appurtenances unto the Trustees and their successors, in trust as afore, according to sd Rules.

Following this came a warrant such as we use in a quit-

claim deed, which was succeeded by a power of sale. The language used in one of the mortgages will stand for all. It was :

doth warrant sd land and premisses agt all claiming under him to remain as a depositum for so much Firm as shalbee sprung him as afore with the interest due thereon unto said Trustees and successors and to bee sold by them according to sd Rules for the satisfaction thereof if cause bee, and Moreover will confirme such Sale at the charge of the Grantee if desired, and also will deliver up the possession of sd land and premisses unto said Trustees and Successors or the purchasers thereof or Creditors of said Fund etc.

This clause is practically the same in all the mortgages with the exception that the word "firm" is not used in the first, the consideration there being "credit as money." The premises in that mortgage were to remain as a deposit "for sd credit or so much thereof as shalbee taken up."

In the proviso the payment required to be made by the grantor of the first mortgage was to be "either in Fund credit or currant money." Then followed three instruments in which the language used was "in sd Firm or currant money." These were evidently controlled by the manner in which the consideration was expressed. There remain two other mortgages. In one of them the grantor might redeem "in sd Firm or goods sutable for Returns to the Merchant as they will fetch in Silver, or currant money according to the rules of sd Fund and so as the Credit thereof bee not strained," and in the other "in such Species and time as hee by writing under his hand at the springing thereof shall pmiss to do."

Upon balancing the "Accompt" in the Fund, provision was made in the mortgage for its discharge. The grantor was entitled to have "the Director thereof for the time being or his Deputy as enjoined by sd Rules" testify to the same; and to have the Deed of Sale, as the mortgage was termed in the instruments, delivered up and made void upon record. In some of the mortgages it was pro-

vided that this should be done by "a release" or in some instances "a discharge, thereon, to make it void on record."

Three of these mortgages were thus discharged of record by Daniel Henschman, Director: that of William Sumner, June 18, 1684, by discharge acknowledged June 21st and entered at the Registry June 24th, 1684; that of Thomas Hunt, June 20, 1684, and apparently entered simultaneously for record; and that of John Brooking, discharged the 16th of April, 1685, and entered of record the same day.

In all these cases, the discharge was made by endorsement on the mortgage, the certificate of Henschman being that Sumner and Hunt had balanced their accounts in the Fund, while, in the case of the Brooking mortgage, the settlement was effected by transfers between the account of the mortgagor and that of another acceptor of credit, which is set forth in Henschman's certificate in the following language:

"John Brooking within named having his accept in the Fund as Depositor balanced since his decease by the accept of Timothy Thornton," etc.

Thornton must, of course, have been an acceptor of credit. The Trustees, by virtue of the office which they held, indicated their approval of the scheme and must also be classed as acceptors. This gives us four acceptors who were not mortgagors. It is possible, of course, that they may have been simply acceptors and not borrowers of credit, but the absence of their names from the list of mortgagors might be explained by their obtaining credit through what the author of "Severals relating to the Fund" would have called "Merchandise-Lumber," that is, a pledge of merchandise, the word Lumber as used in this connection being a corruption of Lombard and deriving its figurative sense from its association with the famous London street of that name.

The various phrases and clauses quoted from the mortgages require a glossary for their perfect understanding.

The word "firm" is used apparently as a substitute for fund, so that the expression "so many pounds in firm" means probably that number of pounds credited the grantor on the books of the Fund, and the words "or credit" which generally follow are merely explanatory. The "springing" of the "firm" evidently is intended for the granting of the Fund credit, the process being described in the different mortgages as the granting, the springing or the passing of the firm or credit.

The foregoing analysis of the mortgages has carried us far enough along to enable us to recur to the rules and the extracts from the "Proposal" given by the author of "Severals relating to the Fund."¹ Having knowledge of the manner in which credit was obtained in the Fund, having before us these examples in which the consideration given was "credit as money," and having seen how one mortgage was discharged by transfers of account in the Fund, we can see that the author was true to the principle which he derived from Potter's "Key to Wealth," that credit founded on land security was better than that having money as a base, "wofull experience" having proved banks founded on the latter "to be subject to rupture," and that the Fund was actually engaged "in passing forth" such credits "as a medium to enlarge the *Measure* of Money." Moreover we are in better condition to interpret the rules appended to "Severals relating to the Fund" than was possible before this examination and can afford to adopt conclusions which are, perhaps, inevitable deductions from the language used in the tract, but which we should, nevertheless, have hesitated to do except for the information now in our possession.

The prospectus of the scheme—substantially the same, as has already been said, with that submitted to the council

¹ "Severals relating to the Fund" is the first of the reprints given in *Tracts relating to the Currency, 1682-1720*, and the Rules discussed herein will be found there.

—was called by the author a "Proposal" and opened in the following words :

A Proposal for erecting a FUND of Land ; by Authority, or private Persons, in the nature of a Money-Bank ; or Merchandise-Lumber, to pass Credit upon by Book-Entries ; or Bills of Exchange, for great Payments : and Change-bills for running Cash. Wherein is demonstrated,

¹*First, the necessity of having a Bank, to enlarge the Measure of Dealings in this land, by shewing the benefit of Money, if enough to mete Trade with ; & the disadvantages, when it is otherwise.*

²*Secondly, That Credit pass'd in Fund, by Book & Bills. (as afore) will fully supply the defect of Money. Wherein is related, of how little value Coin, as the Measure of Trade, need be, in itself ; what inconveniences subject to. The worth a Fund-Bill, or Payment therein, is of : & not of that Hazard.*

There were two more sections in the Proposal. The pamphlet was folded in quarto, eight pages to a sheet, and the author says that these two sections were "pass'd to the 2d Sheet, pag. 9." The rules began at the bottom of the seventh page and were continued on the eighth, this being the last page in the fragment of the pamphlet in the Watkinson library. These two sections are, therefore, lost to us, but the portion of the rules on pages seven and eight will help us to the understanding of the language used in the mortgages, while, by aid of those instruments, we can interpret the rules.

The six mortgages on record covered in their execution dates from September 14th, 1681, to February 22nd, 1682-83, while the discharges prolong the period during which we can find traces in the Registry of activity in the Company until April 16th, 1685.

Doubtless, the missing portion of the rules contained details as to the organization of the Fund. Until the

¹ Tracts relating to the Currency of the Mass. Bay, 1682-1720, p. 5. ² *Ibid.*, p. 7.

second sheet of the pamphlet shall turn up¹ we must rest content with the knowledge upon this point to be derived from the mortgages, which is, that there were at least three Trustees, two of whom were apparently to appear as grantees in each mortgage, and there was a Director of the Fund who was entitled to a deputy. It is doubtful if a determinate title for the company was at any time absolutely agreed upon. It is spoken of in the rules as "The Fund," but creditors are instructed to open their accounts in ledger with "The Fund at Boston in N. E." This latter may, therefore, be accepted as the one under which suit would have been brought against the company if circumstances required or permitted it to be done.

The first of the expressed purposes of the Fund of Land or Merchandise-Lumber was "to pass Credit by Book Entries." We have seen how this was done in the discharge of the Brooking mortgage and it would not be difficult to conceive of much more extensive application of this process. The writer, if we may accept Mr. Trumbull's attempt to fill in the missing words at the foot of the first page of his pamphlet, disclaims knowledge of any similar attempt elsewhere to make use of bank credit in the manner suggested by him, yet it would seem as if in the course of his travels, he must have heard of the Bank of Amsterdam. Perhaps, after all, he is justified in saying what he does, for the bank credit in Amsterdam was founded upon a coin or bullion deposit, while his idea was to make use exclusively of land and merchandise as a basis for credit.

I have said that the credit established in the Fund was to be passed by book-entries. The Proposal also indicates two other methods of passing credit; viz. "Bills of Exchange for great payments" and "Change-bills for

¹ The conjecture naturally arises, was the second sheet ever issued? The important features of the Proposal and the Rules were grouped on the first sheet. Matters of less consequence were postponed. Was not the purpose of this to make the first sheet at once available for a prospectus? If so, the publication of the second sheet might have ceased to be of importance.

running cash." When the writer speaks of bills of exchange and change-bills, or as he does in the rules, of pass-bills, we stand in need of a definition of these terms, otherwise we may be in danger of attaching a meaning to the words foreign to his intention. It is not conceivable that foreign exchange could have been founded upon credit in a bank without capital and without deposits of coin or bullion, and the almost necessary conclusion is that the author's bill of exchange was merely a change-bill of large size. How it would be possible to draw such a distinction as this will be seen if we turn to the rules and ascertain what change and pass-bills were.

Let us suppose that a borrower of fund credit has mortgaged an estate and has had "sprung to him" the "firm or credit as money" upon the books of the Fund. He wishes now to make use of the fund-credit. The rules instruct him that the credit is "not to be strained, nor passed but among Fundors." Within these limits he is prepared to use his credit, and desiring a change-bill he makes out the equivalent of a counter check in modern use, in the following words, Charge my accompt, fol. — Debtor, ——— for Change bill now received, Number ——. The form for the bill which would be issued to him is not given, but its method of use among the Fundors is indicated. The borrower meets one of his fellow acceptors to whom he has occasion to pay a sum less than the face of the bill. The acceptor to whom the payment is to be made is instructed, after having made sure that everything connected with the bill is correct, to enter on it the date of the transaction, his name, and the amount which is transferred to him. This process to go on with each payment to each acceptor until the credit on the change-bill is exhausted.

The acceptor who has thus had transferred to him credit in Fund through a change-bill, is also instructed to open an account with "The Fund at Boston in N. E." In making the charge on his ledger for acceptor's credit thus trans-

ferred, he is required to enter the date of the transaction ; a description of the change-bill, including the name of the person to whom it was issued ; the number of the bill ; the amount of the credit transferred to him ; and, if his acceptance should exhaust the credit on the bill, it was apparently his duty to take it up and make a special entry to the effect that the bill was taken in.

The method of procedure thus set forth in connection with the currency of the change-bill closely resembles that which takes place in the case of the modern letter-of-credit. Indeed, we might say that the change-bill was a letter-of-credit directed to the Fundors, the difference in its circulation from the modern letter being that, while it is required to-day that each advance shall be made upon an order or bill-of-exchange drawn on the house issuing the credit, this formality was dispensed with among the patrons of the Fund. When the charges of the acceptor against the Fund became of enough importance to call for a credit entry, the Fundor simply presented a statement of account at the office of the Fund, accompanied by such change-bills as he had taken up, and upon making a written demand in the following words : "Place to my credit in Fund, fol. — the sum of — being for the foregoing payments," he received credit in his account in the Fund. It is obvious that unless each acceptance charged in the statement of account was accompanied by the corresponding change-bill, there would be no opportunity to verify the statement when the demand was made.

Credit could be transferred in the Fund, either at the Office or elsewhere, without the necessity of taking out change-bills. This was accomplished through the medium of the pass-bill, which consisted in an order on the manager of the Fund to make the necessary transfers, couched in the following language :

Place of my credit in Fund, fol. — to Account of
— the Sum of — :

The change-bill and the pass-bill would seem to have contained within themselves all the essentials for the transaction of business in the Fund. We may conjecture, therefore, that the bill of exchange for great payments was a mere suggestion which occurred to the projector as he prepared his Proposal and which was, perhaps, abandoned when the plan was put in actual operation.

It will be seen that we have here a system of interchangeable credits in a concern which had neither capital nor deposits, which credits might be used in a limited way between persons who had confidence in each other and faith in the judgment of the managers of the Fund, but which evidently did not comprehend the idea of the emission of a denominational paper currency in such form as to be available for general use in trade. The cumbersome nature of the details connected with the use of the change-bills would at first glance seem to have been fatal to their success. Yet, if the promoters of the fund had based their credits upon actual deposits of coin, instead of on land and merchandise, who shall say that in their small way their success might not have rivalled that of the Banks of Venice and Amsterdam. Nearly all the coin of that day had been tampered with. The standard guinea, measured in the filed, clipped and sweated silver then in circulation rose in London to upwards of 30s. Bank credits in Venice and Amsterdam were at twenty per cent. premium, which is but another way of stating that standard coins were worth twenty per cent. more than the light weight coin in circulation. How these bank-credits were availed of is not clear, but that they must have had some representative form outside the Bank in the shape of checks or orders, or if we adopt the technology of "Severals Relating to the Fund," change-bills or pass-bills, which could be made use of, seems an inevitable conclusion. Have we here a suggestion of how this was done?

In the absence of more complete knowledge as to those

who on personal security negotiated loans of credit in the Fund, it is impossible to conjecture how far the business men of Boston joined in the enterprise, but the fact that some of these mortgages were kept alive for nearly four years shows that the acceptors found some use for their credit and would indicate that the scheme must have met with support from sources not specifically set forth in any evidence at hand.

The "Fund at Boston in N. E." so long as we were dependent upon "Severals relating to the Fund" for our knowledge of it, had but a shadowy hold upon our senses, but vitalized by the life infused in its veins through the discovery of these mortgages, it stands forth in full vigor among the pioneers in the financial experiments of the world. More than that, the organization of a bank in Boston in 1686, by John Blackwell, with the approval and support of the council, the character of which was analogous to the Fund, comes too close after the last sign of life in the latter not to be in itself evidence of some sort of success on the part of that experiment and strongly asserts the right of the Fund to claim that it was the prototype of the proposed Land Bank of 1686; of the similar project in 1714; of the Connecticut Land Bank in 1732; and of the well known experiment made in 1740. Whether the change-bill of 1681 had given place in 1686 to the idea of a denominational paper currency for circulation among a people not yet accustomed to bills of public credit, we do not know, but apparently it was the intention to make use of such a medium in payments of over 20s. In 1714, however, over twenty years' use had familiarized the public with paper money, and the proposed bill was then to be accepted by partners in the bank for the number of shillings expressed on its face. It is probable that this simple method of avoiding the intricate process of circulating quasi letters of credit had already suggested itself as early as 1686. At any rate it is clear that the elaborate and

ostentatious organization of Blackwell's bank was but an enlargement of the functions of the Fund.

APPENDIX.

CERTIFIED COPY OF MORTGAGE, MIDDLESEX DEEDS.

JOHN STARKIE TO THE FUND.

To all concerned
Jno Starkie John Starkey of Mauldon in New England Clothier
to Sendeth greeting. Know ye that said John in con-
the Fund. sideration of Seaven pounds in firm or credit as
Hez: Usher & money to be sprung him in the fund at Boston, accord-
Adam Winthrop ing to y^e rules thereof. Doth hereby sell & confirme
unto Hez. Usher and Adam Winthrop of Boston Marchth, trustees for
the acceptors of said firm or credit, All that parcell of land with all
its priviledges & appurtenances sittuate in said Mauldon cont^y three
acc^t more or less, bounded northerly with the way leading to Sandy
bank, Easterly and Southerly with other land of said Starkey, &
westerly with the land of Jas^s Redgwayes children the wh^{ch} was pur-
chased by said Starkey of Robt. Cowley as Deed Dated Octob. 17, 1679.
To have & to hold said land with all its priviledges & appurtenances to
s^d trustees & their successors in trust as afor^{sd} & according to s^d Rules
afore^{sd}. And s^d Starkey for himself Heirs Executors & Admrs Doth
coven^t with s^d trustees & their successors y^t he hath right to sell s^d land
& y^t it is free of all Claims & Incombrances, & y^t he hath not Done
nor will Do, nor any claiming und^r him shall do any thing to mk void
this Grant. And further Doth warrant s^d Land and premises ag^t all
claiming und^r him to Remain as a Deposite, for s^d Firm or so much as
shall be sprung him with the Interest Due thereon unto s^d Trustees &
Successors & to be sold by them according to y^e Rules if any be for
y^e Satisfaction therefr. And also will confirm s^d sale at y^e charge of
y^e Grantors if Desired. And also will peaceably Deliver up the pos-
session of s^d Land unto s^d trustees Successors purchaser or creditors
of s^d Fund to be by them enjoy^d without any Disturbance of s^d Starkey
on s^d Cawley or their heires or any claiming und^r them. And Sarah
the wife of s^d Starkey doth hereby relinquish all her Right in s^d Land,
provided y^t if s^d Starkey or any in his Right shall truly pay his Debit in s^d
Fund either in s^d Firm or currant money y^e y^t upon Ballancing his acc.^t
as a Depositor ther^e, the Directors of s^d Fund or his Deputy as by s^d
Rules enjoy^{ed} shall Deliver up this Deed of Sale with a Release thereon
to mk it void on Record. In witness whereof s^d John Starkey & Sarah
his wife have hereto putt their hands and seals this twentieth Day of
April A. D. one thousand six hundred eighty two. Jn^o Starkey &

seall Sarah Stark & seal. Seal^d, own^d & deliv^d In prence of Timothy Thornton, Cornelius Briggs. John Starky & Sarah his wife acknowledged this to be their Act & Deed this 20. April, 1682, before me Sam^l Nowell Assist.

Enterd 9. 11. 82.

THO: DANFORTH R.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Copy from Records of Middlesex So. District Registry of Deeds.
Book 8, Page 272.

Attest: EDWIN O. CHILDS, Register.

THE NAVIGATION OF THE CONNECTICUT RIVER.

BY W. DELOSS LOVE.

THE discovery of the Connecticut river has been generally attributed by historians to Adriaen Block. If Giovanni da Verrazano in 1524 or Estévan Gomez in 1525 sailed by its mouth, we have no record of the fact; and it is very doubtful whether a river, whose semicircle of sand bars must have proclaimed it such, would have attracted much attention from any navigator seeking a northwest passage. In 1614, Block, having completed his yacht the *Onrust* [Restless], set sail from Manhattan to explore the bays and rivers to the eastward. His vessel was well adapted to his purpose, being of sixteen tons burden, forty-four and a half feet long and eleven and a half feet wide. He was able thus to obtain a more exact knowledge of the coast, as may be seen by the "Figurative Map," which is supposed to exhibit the results of his explorations.¹ At the mouth of the Connecticut river he found the water quite shallow, but the draught of his yacht enabled him to cross the bar without danger and the white man was soon for the first time following northward the course of New England's longest river. There were few inhabitants to be seen near the mouth, but at a point which is thought to have been just above the bend near Middletown, he came upon the lodges of the *Sequins*, located on both banks of the river. Still farther up he saw an Indian village "resembling a fort for protection against the attacks of their enemies." This was in latitude 41° 48', and was,

¹ De Laet's "Description of the New Netherlands," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* New Ser. I.: 286, 296. De Laet undoubtedly followed the journal of Adriaen Block. On the "Figurative Map" see Brodhead's *Hist. of N. Y.* I.: 755-757. *Doc. rel. to the Col. Hist. of N. Y.* I.: 13. O'Callaghan's *New Netherland*, I.: 727. Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, III.: 381, IV.: 433. Cassell's *United States*, I.: 247.

in the opinion of Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, on the east bank, between the Podunk and Scantic rivers. This tribe was called the *Nowaas*, and if we may interpret the fact that he gave the name of their chief and their native word for bread to mean that he paid them a visit, he probably learned from them of the *Horikans* whom he mentioned, a tribe farther north, whose name will be found west of the river on some of the later Dutch maps.

Our earliest information concerning the navigable character of the Connecticut river is derived from this exploration. The depth of the water was not over twelve feet in any place where soundings were taken. This may indicate that the voyage was not made during the high water of the spring. Here and there the depth decreased to four or five feet and then increased to eight or nine, which was Block's description of the several sand bars he crossed. The bends in the river were also noted, and we may infer from his language that he experienced some difficulty in sailing round them with head winds. Probably he did not ascend the river higher than the Indian village, though his journal professed to cover a distance of seventy-five miles from the river's mouth. He made, however, this statement concerning its navigation: "The river is not navigable with yachts for more than six miles farther, as it is very shallow and has a rocky bottom." Such was the first reference in history to Enfield falls, which have ever since played an important part in the navigation of the Connecticut river.

The name Block gave to this river was the "Fresh River," as written on his map *Versche rivier*, because it had "always a downward current" sufficient to overcome to some extent the rise of the tides. Van der Donck afterwards wrote of it: "This river is called the Fresh river, because it affords more fresh water than many other rivers."¹ Among the English the river took its name

¹ Van der Donck's "Description of the New Netherlands," *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.* New Ser. 1:144.

from the valley through which it flowed, called in the Indian tongue *Quinni-tuk-ut*, meaning "on long river." In this word the syllable *tuk* signifies "a river whose waters are driven in waves, by tides or wind," so that both names had reference to the character of the stream. The name *Connecticut* probably exhibits as many varieties in its orthography as any English word of Indian derivation. There are no less than forty-one in earlier colonial letters and documents. How it happened that this name passed from its Indian form to its present spelling rather than to some other much nearer the original is an interesting critical question. The natural conclusion is that it was due to Governor Winthrop, who for some unknown reason adopted this orthography in 1633, though he afterwards used others and many years passed before this was general.¹

The Connecticut river is named on early Dutch maps *Versche rivier*, and extends only so far north as it was first explored. The later group of Dutch maps—those of the Visscher type, 1655—prolong the river far to the north, and such as have been examined note the location of *Mr. Pinsers Oleyne val* and the *Horikans*. Some maps also have the river's name *Varse*—another form of the Dutch word—and even have *Varse* at the mouth of the river and *Versche* inland. The map of Dudley in his *Arcano del mare*, 1646, exhibits an interesting feature which was quite characteristic of him. He gave to the river the

¹ Governor Winthrop, in 1631, wrote this name *Quonehtacut*, but in 1633 he has in his "History of New England" the spelling *Connecticut* seven times. He occasionally wrote it later *Conecticut* or *Conecticott*. The commission of the younger Winthrop in 1635 has "Governour of the river *Conecticut*," though he more commonly wrote it *Queneticut*. In the commission issued by Massachusetts it was *Conecticott*. Bradford has the forms *Conightecute*, *Conightecut*, *Conightecutt*, *Coonightecutt* and *Connightecute*. Roger Williams has *Quonhticout*, *Quonhticout* and *Quonhticout*, though his usual spelling after 1637 was *Conecticut*. Pynchon in 1636 has *Quinnetecot*. The first spelling in the Colonial Records is *Conectecott*. Other forms noted are: *Quinetuquet*, *Quenticutt*, *Queneticott*, *Queneticot*, *Quoncktaout*, *Quinnetruk*, *Conectacotte*, *Conectacote*, *Canedloott*, *Canetticut*, *Conectecot*, *Conecticote*, *Conectecotte*, *Conectecote*, *Conectigus*, *Conittetock*, *Conittetoot*, *Conitycot*, *Conneticote*, *Connetticott*, *Connetticott*, *Coneticot*, *Connitte Cock* and *Conitte Kock*.

name *Ruersche*, joining the letter *R*, which stood for river, to the Dutch name *Versche*, indicating the position of Saybrook fort at its mouth and noting the presence of the sand bar by dotted lines. Some distance to the westward, however, he also has the name *R : Conokteook*, without any river to keep it company. We conjecture that Dudley, though he followed the Dutch in naming the river *Versche*, also had some knowledge of the Connecticut river or its people, but did not recognize the identity between the names. If he intended by his word *Conokteook* to refer to the Connecticut river, this is, so far as we know, the first instance where it is so named on a map. Allowing for a corrupt spelling this word means rather "the long river people," and several later Dutch maps have the word *Conittecock* or *Conittekook* inscribed in the interior of the territory west of the river. The latter name appears on Van der Donck's map in 1656. In Peter Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, 1657, there is a map engraved by "Will: Trevethen, Sculp. 1652," which has the name *Conectacut* applied to the country. It seems therefore that the name *Connecticut* was commonly given to the territory even by those who retained the name *Versche* for the river. In Ogilby's *America*, 1670, the river is called *Versche* on one map and *Conectecut* on another. Little by little, as the Dutch influence declined, the name they had given to this river in 1614 disappeared, and Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*, 1702, without any intention of irony, inscribed upon his map the name *Conecticut River* and gave the name *Fresh Water River* to a small stream—possibly the Podunk—flowing into it from the eastward. In 1666, the Dutch produced an enlarged map of *De Versche Rivier* in connection with the controversy between Sir George Downing and the States General. This map, now well-known through Winsor's reproduction of it, shows the river in some detail, noting the sand bars at the mouth and the channel through them, the high bluffs at

the narrows, the larger islands in the stream and the settlements along the banks as far north as Springfield.¹

We have no record of any white man's ship sailing the Connecticut river after the exploration of Adriaen Block for nineteen years. Some small Dutch boats may have traded there meanwhile, but in 1633 the Dutch came to establish themselves and build their "House of Hope" at Hartford. The same year Captain William Holmes, of Plymouth, entered the river and built a trading house at Windsor, and Governor Winthrop's bark, the "Blessing of the Bay," thirty tons, also visited it. Other vessels followed, the "Rebecca," sixty tons, in 1635; and the next year the vessel that carried the supplies of William Pynchon sailed up to Enfield falls, the head of navigation. Here at Warehouse Point he afterwards built a landing to facilitate the transportation of his goods up the river. In 1637, he had a shallop there, which with a pinnace and a pink, formed the fleet in the Pequot war.

There is no doubt that the navigation of the Connecticut river was considered dangerous even for small vessels in those early times. Winthrop has been charged with a lack of ingenuousness when he refused, in 1633, to engage with Plymouth in the Connecticut trade; but there is room to think he was honestly deterred by such fears quite as much as by distrust of the Indians. He wrote, "the river [is] not to be gone into but by small pinnaces, having a bar affording but six feet at high water" and "no vessels can get in for seven months in the year, partly by reason of the ice, and then the violent stream, etc."² In this opinion the Dutch agreed. De Vries sailed up to the "House of Hope" in 1638, and of the difficulties of navigation he wrote, "They cannot sail with large ships into this river, and vessels must not draw more than six feet [of] water to navigate up to our little fort, which lies fifteen miles

¹ Winsor's *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of America*, III.: 333.

² Winthrop's *Hist. of N. E.* I.: 126.

from the mouth of the river. Besides, there are many bare places or stone reefs, over which the Indians go with canoes."¹ Lion Gardiner, who was in command of Saybrook fort in 1636, counted it good fortune when he had two Dutchmen come to him, one of whom was a shipwright, for "I doe intend," he wrote, "to sett the Duchman to worke to make a Dutch smacke sayle, which shall carry 30 or 40 tun of goods, and not draw 3 foote and a halfe of water, principally to transport goods and passengers vp the river in safety."² Doubtless these fears were exaggerated because they were ignorant of the channel, and were dispelled in part by experience. They were willing, too, to take greater risks as soon as the advantages of the river trade were known. A Dutch writer expressed his opinion of those English adventurers thus: "Having had a smack of the goodness and convenience of this river, and discovered the difference between the land there and that more easterly, they would not go back."³ The idea which Winthrop expressed in 1633 that "This river runs so far northward, that it comes within a day's journey of a part of Merrimack called [blank] and so runs thence N. W. so near the Great Lake as [allows] the Indians to pass their canoes into it over the land" raised great expectations. Edward Howes wrote John Winthrop, Jr., at Saybrook, in 1636, wanting to know how far he had discovered the river, and how he liked it and "what news of the Lake."⁴ Sanson's map of 1656 shows the river flowing from a lake. Thus their hopes of a profitable trade with the north by means of the river were awakened. They were largely realized, though not in the way anticipated. For two centuries this river was one of the great avenues of trade in which Boston had no small part.

The first controversy between Massachusetts and Con-

¹ *Voyages of De Vries*, Murphy's translation, p. 125.

² *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 4 Ser. VII.: 54.

³ *Vertoogh*, etc., Murphy's translation, p. 34.

⁴ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* 4 Ser. VI.: 503.

necticut, of which this river was the cause, arose out of the imposition of tolls by the latter on all exports of grain, skins, etc., passing by Saybrook fort to sea. A mere statement of the case, which is fully set forth elsewhere, will be sufficient here.¹ The above mentioned action was taken by the Connecticut General Court, February 5, 1644-5, in view of their agreement made with George Fenwick, Esq., two months before, by which they were to pay these tolls to him for ten years in return for his land on the river, Saybrook fort and its appurtenances and his pledge to convey all the land included in the Warwick patent *if it came into his power*. "They had no right of jurisdiction," says Dr. Trumbull, "except such as grew out of occupation, purchase from the native proprietors or conquest." Herein therefore was one weakness of their case when they demanded toll from Springfield, "chiefly to maintayne the fort for security & conveniency," as they expressed it or they were really requiring part of the purchase money from a town claiming to be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Springfield refused, through Mr. Pynchon, to pay the tolls and carried the matter to the General Court of Massachusetts, which sent a remonstrance to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, to whom Connecticut had appealed. The representatives of Plymouth and New Haven, who judged the case, decided in Connecticut's favor, whereupon the Massachusetts Court took action demanding tolls from all the other colonies for the maintenance of the fort at Boston. The Massachusetts Commissioners pressed their right to see the order of Connecticut imposing the customs and also the Colony's patent. In fact, the Colony had not secured any assignment of the Warwick grant, and perhaps had not then, any more than in 1661, even a copy of it. The Court's order was only a

¹ *Conn. Col. Rec.* I.: 119-122, 189, 190, 258, 266-273, 568-570; *Mass. Col. Rec.* II.: 182, 183, 268-270, III.: 32, 89, 151, 152, 191; *Ply. Col. Rec.* IX.: 89, 99-93, 120-136, 155-156. *Hutchinson's History*, I.: 153-156. *Palfrey's Hist. of N. E. I.*: Bk. II., Chap. VI.

re-statement of the terms of their agreement with Fenwick, which they were not disposed to have examined and did not enter upon their Colonial records until ten years after its date; and both documents would have shown that the tolls were purchase money. Meanwhile, however, in the mid-winter of 1647, the Saybrook fort was burned to the ground. It seems to have been so providential an event that the fire might have been set by some adherent of either party. The Massachusetts men could then say there was no reason for tolls as there was no fort to maintain; and the Connecticut men were spared the embarrassment of confessing that they had no patent or of producing an agreement which did not convey even the right of jurisdiction that was conceded to them. Thus the first issue of intercolonial commerce on the Connecticut river was suffered to die unattended and in 1650 Massachusetts repealed her obnoxious order.

From this time on for a century and a half the subject has mainly to do with the lower portion of the river and belongs to Connecticut history. This Colony early sought to foster the shipping interests on the river. In 1642, the General Court took action to secure the building of a ship by the towns and ordered the cultivation of hemp "for the better furnisheing the Riuer wth Cordage towards the rigging of Shipps." Later all vessels while on the stocks were exempted from taxation, an order soon afterwards limited to those of thirty tons burden and over. Some vessels were built in those days along the river, but they were mostly of small tonnage. At Wethersfield, in 1649, Thomas Deming built the "Tryall," the first built by private enterprise and perhaps the first in the Colony. In 1681, an act was passed for the proper inspection of all over fifteen tons burden. The answers made by the Governor to the questions of the "Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations," in 1680, show that twenty-seven vessels were then owned in the Colony. Of these, seven

were owned on Connecticut river,—at Hartford 1 ship, 90 tons; at Middletown 1 ship, 70 tons; at Lyme 1 ketch, 70 tons; at Saybrook 2 small sloops; and at Kenilworth 1 sloop, 18 tons, and 1 sloop, 14 tons.¹ This summary, however, does not include the numerous smaller boats used in the river traffic, nor does it adequately represent the shipping interests, for most of the intercolonial trade was carried on by vessels owned in New York and Boston. At that time a ship of ninety tons was as large as it was thought wise to build for river use. Few as large were built for many years. Smaller vessels had an advantage in low water and in crossing the Saybrook bar. So the river commerce grew. In 1730, fourteen vessels were owned in its towns, averaging thirty tons, and forty-two in the Colony. If this proportion continued, there were thirty-four owned on the river in 1762 and sixty in 1774. We have reason to think, however, that after the French wars there was an awakening of the river's shipping interests. More vessels certainly were built at the river towns,—especially at Hartford, Wethersfield, Glastonbury, Middletown and farther south.² It is said that a schooner was built at Chicopee in 1749 and came down over Enfield falls in the springtime freshet. Doubtless others followed this example. During the Revolution several ships of war were constructed and equipped along the river—the state man-of-war "Oliver Cromwell," 260 tons and twenty-four guns, at Essex, and the frigate "Trumbull" at Chatham—and the river towns furnished many adventurous privateers.³

The principal exports from the Connecticut river during the Colonial period were provisions for New York and Boston, and lumber, horses, etc., sent to the West Indies in exchange for rum, sugar and molasses. Occasionally a ship was laden for England with "pot and pearl ashes," or

¹ *Conn. Col. Rec.* III.: 290.

² "Scraps of Wethersfield History," by S. W. Adams, *Wethersfield Farmer*, 1887.

³ *Ibid.*; *Record of Conn. Men*, etc., pp. 593-607.

lumber and salted provisions. Early in 1767, within a period of forty days, there arrived in Barbadoes thirteen ships from Connecticut river. As early as 1765 some river sloops were fitted with accommodations for passenger traffic, and passage boats ran with some regularity to New York, Boston, and Long Island ports. After the Revolution there were several regular packet lines.

It was in consequence of this foreign trade that the first movement arose for improving the river's channel. Hitherto little or nothing had been contemplated, except between adjoining towns, such as deepening the channel between Hartford and Wethersfield, in 1686.¹ Sea-going ships needed more water and it was seen that unless something was done to improve the navigation of the river, its commerce could not expect large development. So in 1764, on the memorial of Joseph Talcott and others, setting forth that there were sundry sand bars between Rocky Hill and Hartford, the Connecticut General Court gave the petitioners authority to raise funds and expend the same in clearing away the bars, and if they secured and maintained a channel seven feet deep in the summer season, they were empowered to collect a toll of six pence a ton on all vessels over fifteen tons using the river above Rocky Hill.² Probably nothing was accomplished by this company. In 1774 and in 1788, the water on these same bars was not over five and a half feet deep at high water and a common tide. It is thought that objections to the plan arose on account of the tolls. Then and for many years thereafter sea captains had a great prejudice against any such payment. Many ships of over fifteen tons would not be benefitted by the improvement, as they could generally use the channel in its natural condition.

This movement was soon followed by another for facilitating a safe entrance into the river. The General Court received a memorial in 1770 from Matthew Talcott, Silas

¹ *Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, VI.: 218. ² *Conn. Col. Rec.* XII.: 318-320.

Dean and others, stating that "the navigation into and out of said river is difficult, expensive and dangerous, by reason of bars and shoals of sand not sufficiently defined and known at the mouth," that Captain Abner Parker, of Saybrook, had lately made "a compleat chart or map of said bars and shoals with the channels and soundings," that "buoys or water-marks" might be erected on these bars and "maintained by a small duty laid on the vessels sailing into and out of said river," and praying for a committee to examine into the matter. This memorial had a wearisome legislative journey, the final outcome of which was that the memorialists were granted the privilege of a lottery to raise £337, afterwards increased to £537, to do the work and remunerate Captain Parker. This "Saybrook Bar Lottery," however, did not yield its revenue until 1777, and then it was so greatly depleted by expenses that the balance, about £200, was insufficient for the work. As the projectors were given permission to use the stone of the old fort at Saybrook, masonry of some sort must have been contemplated. Nothing was ever done, and in 1786 Captain Parker, then aged and dependent, petitioned for further remuneration out of the unexpended balance. Two years later the Assembly ordered the managers of the lottery to render an account, settle this claim and pay the balance into the treasury of the state, but Captain Parker had died two months before. His chart, however, had been engraved on two copper plates and published at an expense of £36. 5s. It is valuable as showing the condition of Saybrook bar at that time, and was the first map issued on the subject.¹ There is in

¹ Abner Parker, son of Ebenezer and Mary (Smith) Parker of Saybrook, was born May 14, 1697, and died March 24, 1788. He had followed the sea all his life and was a well-known character at Saybrook. His claim to have "discovered" a new channel must be taken with some allowance under the circumstances. "Capt. Parker's Chart of Saybrook Barr" was engraved by Abel Buell and is inscribed: "To the Hon^{ble} | Govenor & | Company, of the Colony of | Connecticut in New England This Map | is Humbly Dedicated by Your Honours | most Obedient Humble Servt. | Abner Parker | 1771." Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull once had a copy of this chart

the Record Office in London an earlier map, which was made in 1720 by Mr. John Copp of Norwalk, and of which a tracing is preserved in the State Library. This is an outline map of the coast, but it indicates the position of the bars sufficiently for a comparison. It appears that the flood channel had changed slightly to the westward during the half century and that the eastern, or Poverty Point, once extended farther out into the river. Other changes also may be noted in the channels and their depth of water, one of which is now entirely closed, and all of these changes seem to justify the dread the ancient mariner had of the bars at the mouth of the Connecticut river.¹

There was great activity along the river during the Revolution, but no one had any time to think of improving navigation. As soon as this storm passed, however, there was a revival of former schemes. Other causes stimulated this interest. Trade increased and emigration up the river demanded more facilities for transportation. In 1784, two years before John Fitch made his success with the steamboat at Philadelphia, a newly invented craft made its appearance on the river. Its projector astonished the river men by his ingenuity and probably also amused them. This craft consisted of two scows or flat-boats lashed together side by side, with a platform on top, where two horses walked round and round to give power to paddle wheels on each side. A speed of three miles an hour up stream was thus attained.² It was not much of an invention for a Connecticut Yankee, but it clearly indicates the trend of interest along the river.

and a facsimile of a tracing is given in the Colonial Records. [Cf. *Conn. Col. Rec.* XIII.: 503 n., and *Report of Chief of Engineers of U. S.*, 1873, p. 303.] See *Conn. Col. Rec.* XIII.: 383, 384, 503, 504, 643, 644; XIV.: 94, 96, 97, 112-120; XV.: 144, 322; *Rec. of State of Conn.* I.: 36, 139, 140; State Archives, *Lotteries and Divorces*, pp. 86-106, 155, 156; *Trade and Maritime Affairs*, II.: 94-96, 138.

¹ The Copp map was made by the Colony at the command of the Board of Trade, expressed in a letter dated "Whitehall, August 7th 1719," and was sent to England. [State Archives, *Foreign Correspondence* I.: 140.] The tracing was secured by Dr. Charles J. Hoadly.

² *Conn. Courant*, July 13, 1784.

In 1788, Jeremiah Wadsworth, supported by fifty-seven prominent citizens of Hartford, petitioned the Assembly with reference to deepening the channel between Hartford and Middletown from five and one-half to ten feet, proposing to defray the expense by tolls on all vessels drawing more water than the channel then afforded.¹ This movement failed for the time because of the Assembly's jealousy of a monopoly, but it eventually resulted in the plan then approved by the citizens—the granting of encouragement to a private corporation who would undertake the work. The next year a lottery was granted for the purpose of erecting wharves at Hartford.² In 1790, the "River-Bank Lottery" was authorized—to raise money for "supporting the Bank of the River, adjoining the Public Road through the Long Meadow in Middletown."³ There were other similar projects. Then, too, began the movement for improving the navigation above Hartford, to which reference will presently be made. The whole matter was fully stated in a series of articles printed in the *Connecticut Courant*, beginning January 2, 1792, and written under the pseudonym "Patriot." From these articles it appears that the wise already foresaw that the Connecticut river was destined to become the main avenue of trade in western New England. The expectation was expressed that the river would be navigable to Coos, by clearing the channel and constructing canals at Enfield, South Hadley, and the falls above. It was a true prophecy. As to the river below Hartford the importance of clearing the channel between Hartford and Middletown was strongly urged. This interest centered naturally in Hartford. The towns below Middletown were much better accommodated, the obstructing sand bars being mostly above them. The naval returns show that Middletown

¹ State Archives, *Trade and Maritime Affairs*, II.: 221-223.

² State Archives, *Lotteries and Divorces*, p. 180.

³ *Middlesex Gazette*, March 20, and June 12, 1790.

had a great commercial advantage at this time in trade with foreign ports. In a single week in 1786, eight such ships arrived and as many sailed from that port, and there was a constant increase in this trade until the sand bars were cleared away. Still Hartford had other advantages as the acknowledged head of navigation and the point of departure for all the traffic up the river.¹ Indeed, the commercial interests of that city are asserted in the seal adopted February 21, 1785, the year after its incorporation, on the report of Colonel Samuel Wyllys and John Trumbull, Esq.: "Connecticut River represented by the figure of an old man, crowned with rushes, seated against a rock, holding an urn with a stream flowing from it; at his feet a net, and fish peculiar to the river lying by it, with a barrel and bales; over his head an oak growing out of a cleft in the rock; and round the whole these words, 'Sigillum Civitatis Hartfordiensis.'"² This seal having become obsolete by the decline of the river trade was displaced in 1852 by the present one representing a hart crossing a ford.

All this interest culminated in the incorporation of John Caldwell, John Morgan and others, in October, 1800, as the "Union Company," with power to remove obstructions to navigation, build wharves, piers, etc., and, when they

¹ A careful examination of such data as are obtainable shows that the most prosperous period of up-river traffic began about 1790, reached its height about 1805, and gradually declined thereafter, though the aggregate of exports constantly increased. This is contrary to the general impression. Notwithstanding the canal improvements, the river did not compete with the turnpike roads leading from the upper Connecticut valley eastward to Boston. The third New Hampshire turnpike, running from Bellows Falls to Boston, was incorporated in 1799, and the fourth, from White River Falls to Boston, in 1800. These and other roads diverted much of the trade. The friends of river navigation made the following statement in 1824: "Notwithstanding all that has been done by the proprietors of the present locks and canals, the amount of transportation on the river has diminished since their construction. The boating from above Miller's falls was considerable twenty years ago. It is now comparatively trifling, and in a few years more will probably be almost if not wholly abandoned. The principal causes which have produced this result are improvements in roads, a reduction in the price of land carriage and some diminution of water in Connecticut river."—*Two Reports, etc.*, p. 16. Cf. *Journal of the Convention, etc.*, 1830, pp. 15-17.

² *Mem. Hist. of Hartford Co.*, I.: 380, 381.

had secured a channel more than six feet deep between Hartford and Middletown, they were authorized to collect tolls proportionate to the distance and the draught of each vessel using the same, for a period of sixty years. This company expended a considerable sum on the river's channel, dredging the bars, removing obstructions, erecting piers, stoning the banks and planting willows on them. They succeeded in securing a channel with about seven and a half feet of water over the sand bars, where from the beginning of navigation there had been not more than five and a half. The bars which received this improvement were as follows: Hartford Bar, Hartford Bar, Jr. [Clay Banks], Wethersfield Bar [Pratts Ferry Bar], Log Bar [Press Barn Bar], Log Bar, Jr., Glastonbury Bar, Dividend Bar, Pistol Point Bar and Quarry Bar.¹ The toll system went into effect as provided March 26, 1806. It met with opposition from the first, and in 1831 and 1836 attempts were made to induce the Assembly to repeal the company's act of incorporation or direct a Quo Warranto to issue against them. One of the main questions raised was whether the State had a right to tax a class for travelling upon its "navigable tide waters." Undoubtedly the tax was a hardship for many, as some vessels had managed to get over the bars by means of an anchor and windlass, and most of them did not profit by the improvement during high water. On the other hand, larger vessels were thus enabled to reach Hartford and trade was relieved of many interruptions and embarrassments. Had it not been for this improvement, even the small steamboat plying between Hartford and New York in 1834 could not have ascended the river above Middletown. The "Union Company" continued in operation

¹ *Affidavits and Statements, etc.*, 1834; *Remarks, Affidavits, etc.*, 1836; *Statement of facts, etc.*, pp. 5, 6; *Report of Chief of Engineers, U. S.*, 1880, p. 386*f*.

until the expiration of its charter, its last annual meeting recorded being held May 28, 1864.¹

One of the chief characteristics of the Connecticut river is its springtime floods. The exact time of this inundation and the height of the water varies with the season; but the fact was early discovered by navigators that every flood made some changes in the channel.² The very bed of the river in some places has thus been moved in the course of time from east to west or west to east apparently at the river's caprice. The channel is filled more or less by every flood, and sand bars have been known to appear and disappear without due notice. The bar called Log Bar, Jr., once well-defined, is now entirely buried. Land has apparently been moved from one side of the river to the other, and the boundaries of towns have been altered. At Saybrook the tide, which has there an average rise of three and a half feet when the river is at its lowest stage, has had some influence; but at Hartford under the same conditions this rise is only one foot, and when the river is five feet above its lowest stage it is hardly appreciable. It was evident therefore a century ago that the channel demanded attention annually. In addition to the amount expended by the "Union Company," which was about forty-five thousand dollars, in 1835, the steamboat company expended thirty-four thousand dollars and the City of Hartford twelve thousand dollars before 1868 in such work. This outlay, however, did scarcely more than to keep the channel open and deeper water was

¹ *Ibid.*; MS. Rec. of the "Union Company," Conn. Hist. Soc.; *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 517-523, V.: 507; 1837: 18; 1838: 75; 1861: 97; *Report of the Committee*, etc., [1836]; *Report of Chief of Engineers, U. S.*, 1868, p. 766.

² In the "great flood" of March 10, 1639, the river was the highest it had been within the memory of the Indians. The greatest flood since that time was May 1, 1854, when the water rose to a height of 29 feet, 10 inches above low water at Hartford. Other extraordinary floods were in May and June, 1642, July and August, 1683, 1692, Jan. 12, 1767, 1798, 1801, 1841, 1843, 1859, 1862, 1869, 1870, 1895, 1896, 1901 and 1902. It has been generally thought that some diminution of water in the Connecticut river has been caused by the cutting off of the forests. Great floods seem to be more frequent, probably for the same reason. In 1813, nearly every bridge on the river was carried away or injured by the ice during a freshet.

needed for commerce. Thus the work came finally into the hands of the United States government at the above date, when a preliminary examination of the case was made. It is unnecessary to follow in detail here the improvements by the government, the same being fully covered by the Reports of the Chief of Engineers of the United States.¹ In 1870, the government began its work of dredging the channel, removing rock and driving piles, and in two years secured a channel eight feet deep and nearly one hundred feet wide at low water. It has been necessary, an account of the above-mentioned conditions, to continue the dredging each year, at an annual expense of about ten thousand dollars. At Saybrook Bar the government did some dredging in 1836, when a survey was made by the government, but it had long been evident that some construction work was necessary for the protection of the channel. In 1872, therefore, the building of jetties was begun, one on the west and the other on the east side, which, with the lights, have rendered the mouth of the river an easy and safe harbor for all vessels. Thus the obstacles that formerly existed in the navigation of the river have been overcome.

We now turn to the consideration of developments in the navigation of the Connecticut river above Hartford, to which the interest in the first half of the nineteenth century largely pertained. Here was a river more than four hundred miles long, including all its windings, running through a most fertile valley which had early become a highway of emigration. Its source in Connecticut Lake was sixteen hundred feet above the tide water at its mouth; and even from Barnet, Vermont, which the friends of navigation early made their prospective terminus, there was a fall of over four hundred feet to Hart-

¹ *Index of Reports of Chief of Engineers, 1866-1879*, pp. 156-158; 1880-1887, pp. 151-153; 1888-1892, pp. 126, 137.

ford.¹ To overcome these obstacles was their ambition.

As already stated, the vessels that carried the goods of William Pynchon and the early settlers of Springfield ascended the river to Enfield falls. There a warehouse was built and long maintained, from which fact the name "Warehouse Point" was derived. In Revolutionary times one was standing about forty rods south of the new bridge. This is thought to have been at or near the location of Mr. Pynchon's warehouse. At first goods were conveyed from there by the river trail, but soon the Springfield settlers built canoes and small flat-boats for this work. At times these boats were able to go over the falls. The upper river towns also used this method of transportation. Such boats were used at Northampton as early as 1675, at Hadley in 1668, and at other places farther north from the beginning of their settlement. It was necessary of course to transfer freight around South Hadley and Miller's falls by the road. The increase of population in the up-river towns augmented this trade and after the peace of 1763 the freighting and lumber business on the river became an important factor in its navigation. Then the construction of flat-boats that could be poled up over Enfield falls, or could pass the many shoals in the river above, was multiplied. (There is good evidence that in every section of the river as far north as the settlements extended such boats were used soon after the Revolutionary war. A writer, in 1792, says: "It is only six or seven years since the first boat was built at Windsor (Vt.) and business is now increased to hundreds of tons yearly." These facilities for transportation above Enfield falls brought many vessels to the head of navigation at Warehouse Point. In 1790, as many as sixteen sloops

¹ *The American Journal of Science*, XXII.: No. 2, p. 206; *Two Reports, etc.*, 1825; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826; *Report of Chief of Engineers, U. S.*, 1888, p. 528.

were counted there at anchor waiting to receive and discharge their cargoes. After the building of the Hartford bridge in 1809, this reshipment usually took place at that port. There was "an apology for a draw" in this bridge on the east side of the river, but it was of no great use, for the water was too shallow in summer, and "it was a job of several hours to raise and lower it." So this bridge practically closed navigation for sloops above Hartford from 1809 to 1818, when a new draw was put in on the west side. The river flat-boat continued to be the standard means of conveyance until long after the canal round Enfield falls was built, though its size was then increased. The earlier type was a simple scow, drawing little water and fashioned at the ends conveniently for the work. Its capacity was from twelve to eighteen tons, but all the freight over fifteen tons had to be carted around the falls by ox teams. Each boat was rigged with a square sail and sometimes a topsail, which was especially useful in a strong up-river wind. When there was no wind the boat was poled by men, who tied up their craft by night and slept in some inn or farmhouse near at hand. In propelling the boat up over Enfield falls, extra men were required, called "falls-men," who received one dollar a day as their wages. The river flat-boats of the later type were much larger than the former, having a capacity of from twenty-five to forty tons. Some were built of pine, without floor or cabin, for the conveyance of lumber and potash, and after the voyage down the river they were sold and broken up. Others were of oak, usually of about thirty-five tons capacity, with a cabin and accommodations for a crew of four, a mast twenty-five feet high, where a large square sail was rigged, and a narrow walk along the sides for poling. The boat's dimensions were regulated by the size of the canal locks through which it was obliged to pass. Usually the length was about seventy-five feet and the width about fifteen, the ends being

narrowed to ten or twelve feet. This class of boats carried cargoes up the river as well as down in the regular freighting service. The round trip required about fifteen days. When they were poled they could make one mile an hour going up the river, but with a fair wind five miles. So many a time a favorable breeze would start them out from Hartford for the up-river voyage in large numbers, and as many as thirty in a day have been counted passing a river man's home.¹

The improvements along the Connecticut river above Hartford were due to the demands of this traffic. Only a brief sketch of each can be given, leaving the details to be gathered, if desired, from the authorities noted.

The project of improving navigation at Enfield falls dates from 1791, when the Connecticut Assembly granted to Roger Newbury, John Reynolds and others, the privilege of a lottery "for the purposes of cutting a Channel thro' the Falls in Connecticut River and clearing the Sand Bars, so as to make the river navigable between said falls and the city of Hartford."² In 1798, the Assembly incorporated John Reynolds and others as "The Company for erecting and supporting a Toll bridge, with Locks, from Enfield to Suffield." After an extension of time the bridge was built and opened November 9, 1808, but the locks contemplated were too great an undertaking and the same year the company was empowered "to make a shore channel by excavating the bed of the river," in lieu of them. The year following the company was released from this obligation.³ Thus nothing was accomplished, and in 1818 the

¹ On this up-river navigation see "Early River Navigation," *Historical Sketches*, Jabez H. Hayden; also articles by the same writer in the *Hartford Courant*, May 28, 1886, the *Windsor Locks Journal*, Oct. 10, 1902, and the *Springfield Republican*, July 6, 13, 20, 1899; "Old Time Traffic and Travel on the Connecticut," George Sheldon, *Hist. and Proc. P. V. Mem. Ass.*, III.: 117-129; "Navigation of Connecticut River," T. M. Dewey, *Papers and Proc. Conn. Valley Hist. Soc.*, 1876-1881, pp. 114-122; "Traffic on the Connecticut River," Nellie G. Abbe, *The Connecticut Quarterly*, III.: 208ff.; "Early Traffic on the Connecticut River," Collins G. Burnham, *N. E. Mag.*, Oct., 1900.

² *Conn. Courant*, March 5, 1792.

³ *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 249-252; *Petition of Conn. River Co.*, 1828.

Assembly chartered "The Proprietors of Enfield Locks and Channels," the projector being John L. Sullivan, Esq., a well-known engineer.¹ The plans of this company also failed, mainly for the same reason as its predecessor—inability to raise the capital required. Finally in 1824, the time limit of the latter company having expired, and notwithstanding the protest of the former, "The Connecticut River Company" was incorporated with ample powers to improve the channel above Hartford, "to lock the falls at Enfield," "to construct a canal on either bank of said river near said falls," and "to construct a dam or dams for the purpose of entering and leaving the locks in still water."² As a financial adjunct to this company, "The Connecticut River Banking Company" was incorporated the year following by an amendment to this charter. The creation of "The Connecticut River Company" was the inevitable result of the conditions then existing. It was an era of inland navigation. The Erie canal was opened in 1825. Another great canal had been projected to cross Massachusetts from east to west and intersect the Connecticut river. A movement of still greater importance to the lower river towns was that to construct a canal from New Haven to Northampton, which had been inaugurated by the incorporation of a company to build the Farmington canal in 1822. To develop the resources of the river in opposition to this, an association had been formed at Hartford, the leaders of which were substantially the organizers of "The Connecticut River Company."³ The war between the "Canalites" and the "Riverites," to which reference will be made later, had already begun. Moreover, in 1824, the first steamboat line between Hartford and New York was established, and this had suggested up-river navigation by steam. Several canals around falls

¹ *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 507-510; *Brimley Catalogue*, No. 9313.

² *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 73-83; *Brimley Catalogue*, Nos. 9307, 9315.

³ *Two Reports, etc.*, 1826, pp. 3, 17, 22; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, p. 1.

above had been in operation for more than a quarter of a century. It seemed therefore to many that the construction of a canal at Enfield falls was all that was necessary to make the Connecticut river a great highway of commerce. So "The Connecticut River Company" was organized under most favorable conditions and with strong financial support. In its charter there was also a provision to cover all improvements on the river above, provided the necessary authority was granted by Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Vermont. Obviously this scheme to consolidate all the canal properties on the river, to which further reference will be made, was the natural outcome under the circumstances. To this company surely more than to any other was due all that was ever accomplished to bring about an improved system of navigation on the upper section of the river. The preliminary surveys for the Enfield falls canal were made therefore with great expectations in 1825. The fall of the river here was thirty feet. To overcome this the canal, which was six miles long, had three locks. It is now well-known to every traveller through Windsor Locks as furnishing water-power to a number of mills.

The next obstacle in the navigation of the river was the fall at South Hadley. Here the earliest canal improvement was effected and it is said that this was the first canal, of any importance at least, attempted to be built in the United States. The river flat-boats, which could ascend the rapids at Enfield, met here an insurmountable difficulty in a waterfall of about fifty feet descent in two and a quarter miles. In early times the boats were poled up over Willimansett rapids, landing their cargoes below the fall on either side of the river, for transportation by road to other boats above. There seems to have been a gorge-like irregularity in the rocks on the east side of the fall, which may have suggested a canal and through which it was built. In 1791, a petition was presented to the

Massachusetts Legislature for the incorporation of a company to effect this improvement. The project was opposed on the ground that it would facilitate communication between the upper Connecticut and New York, thus diverting trade from Boston. This opposition failed, and an act was passed February 23, 1792, incorporating the "Proprietors of the Locks and Canals on Connecticut River," with power to construct canals and make the river "passable for boats and other things" from Chicopee river to the northern limits of the state, and to collect tolls according to a schedule fixed by the charter. The moving spirits of this enterprise were John Worthington of Springfield, Jonathan Dwight of Springfield, John Williams of Deerfield, and Benjamin Prescott of Northampton. It is doubtful whether they would have been able to accomplish their purpose had it not been for the financial assistance of four Dutch firms of Amsterdam, who became interested through their Boston agent and subscribed for a considerable part of the company's stock, of which there were five hundred and four shares. The original plan embraced a canal at Miller's falls, but it was soon thought best to divide the corporation and an act was passed February 27, 1794, constituting "The Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canals on Connecticut River, in the County of Hampshire." The building of the upper canal was assigned to this company and the old company, with its Dutch stockholders, retained the lower. It happened afterwards that the Amsterdam firms became discouraged by their assessments and the litigation arising from the supposed unhealthfulness of the water at their dam, and sold out their interests—the last of them in 1804. Soon afterwards the company paid dividends. The surveys for the South Hadley canal were made in 1792, by Christopher Collis of New York, and the necessary lands were purchased the year following, the first deed being dated March 12th. The construction work

was begun April 20, 1793. This included the digging of the canal two and a third miles long, the construction of a dam across the river at the upper end, the erection of one building for the uses of the company and another as an inn for the accommodation of river men, and the construction of an inclined plane by which the boats were to be carried from one level to the other. It was almost too much of an enterprise for the times, but its projectors were energetic men, and Benjamin Prescott was himself an engineer. The original act provided for the transportation of rafts twenty feet in width and sixty feet in length, but by an amendment passed June 21, 1793, this provision was changed to sixteen feet in width and forty feet in length. It was also necessary for the company to make the Willimansett rapids, where there was a fall of nine feet, passable for boats. This work was begun in 1795. A canal or channel was first built along the east bank. This became filled up after a time and a shore channel was made on the west side. A towpath ran alongside of it, and boats were drawn up against the current by oxen.

The canal itself was completed in the autumn of 1794, sufficiently at least to be dedicated with some ceremony by the directors. In the spring following it was opened for traffic. The tolls were collected at the inclined plane and a duplicate receipt was retained by the collector. Some idea of the number of boats and rafts that passed through this canal the first year can be formed from the fact that receipt No. 118 was dated June 6th, and many of these receipts were for more than one boat. The amount of tolls in 1795 was \$3,109.45. Usually the river men made it convenient to spend the night at the "Canal Tavern," which was built in 1793 and is still standing. Sometimes they had cause to complain of the delay in passing over the inclined plane. The most serious troubles of the company, however, were occasioned by their dam, which raised the water some feet as far up the river as Northamp-

ton and occasioned, it was claimed, much sickness. Many protests were made and finally the Legislature, by an act passed February 25, 1802, granted the company authority to raise money by a lottery for the purpose of making the canal passable without the aid of a dam. In 1805, under the supervision of Ariel Cooley, to whom the property was thereafter leased, the bed of the canal was lowered four feet, the dam three feet, and five locks were substituted for the inclined plane. The canal finally became remunerative, passed in 1849 to the Hadley Falls Company and in 1859 to the Holyoke Water Power Company.

The most interesting feature of this enterprise was its use of the inclined plane to raise and lower boats from one level to another. No earlier instance is known in this country, and it was first adopted in England on the Ketley canal in 1789. This device, however, is of ancient origin and use on canals. It has been thought that the Dutch stockholders suggested it at South Hadley, which is quite likely, as it was used on other canals in which the Dutch were interested. It is especially useful where the descent is great and water worth saving. The seal which the South Hadley company adopted, as authorized by an act of February 25, 1793, had a representation of an inclined plane as its main feature. In the company's records this seal is thus described: "The figure of an inclined plane with a loaded boat passing down the same—over which the words *sic transit*, underneath the words, *public & private good*, around the seal the words 'The Proprietors of Locks & Canals, County of Hampshire, Mass.'" The embossed impression of this seal is seen on the company's certificate of stock. It has been doubted whether the inclined plane was ever actually used at South Hadley, but there are many references to it in the company's records and deeds of property. Indeed, Dwight, in his *Travels*, gives a minute description of it, written within a few years after its use was discontinued and

doubtless from information obtained on the spot. He says, "At the lower end of the canal was erected an inclined plane, fifty-three feet in height, and two hundred and thirty in length; built of stone obtained in the neighbourhood. The face of the plane was elevated $13\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and was covered with strong plank. The outlet of the canal was secured by a sufficient lock, of the common construction. When boats were to be conveyed down the intended plane, they passed through the lower lock, and were received immediately through folding-doors into a carriage, which admitted a sufficient quantity of water from the canal to float the boat. As soon as the boat was fairly within the carriage, the lock and the folding-doors were closed, and the water suffered to run out of the carriage through sluices made for that purpose. The carriage was then let slowly down the inclined plane on three sets of wheels; the second and third sets being so much larger than the first as to keep the carriage exactly level. The machinery, by which the carriage was raised or lowered, consisted of a water-wheel, sixteen feet in diameter, on each side of the inclined plane; on the axis of which was wound a strong iron chain formed like that of a watch, and fastened to the carriage. When the carriage was to be let down, a gate was opened at the bottom of the canal; and the water, passing through a sluice, turned these wheels, and thus slowly unwinding the chain, suffered the carriage to proceed to the foot of the plane by its own weight. When the carriage was to be drawn up, this process was reversed. The motion was perfectly regular, easy, and free from danger. At the foot of the inclined plane another canal is formed round a small rift; and through this, boats make their entrance again into the river. The boats which pass this canal are from fifty to sixty-five feet in length, and carry from ten to twenty-five tons. At first cables were employed to raise and let down the boats, and were found insufficient, as well as

expensive. The chains, which were substituted for them, were frequently broken; and thus embarrassed the regular course of the navigation." This description does not tally in every detail with the representation on the seal, which was probably made from a drawing before the inclined plane was built. In the seal the inclined plane rests upon timbers, and there are only two sets of wheels, of the same size. The water-wheels, however, are shown, and from other sources we learn that the water was supplied to them from a reservoir, as suggested by the following clause in a deed,—“at gates enclosing the water of the reservoir next above the inclined plane.” An examination of the locality shows distinct traces of the canal bed, extending north to Stony Brook as well as below the fall, the reservoir, and the locks which supplied the place of the inclined plane. A fragment of the later dam is visible at low water. On the whole, this canal must be considered one of the most interesting ever constructed in New England.¹

As already noted, the improvements at Miller's falls were, by the division of the original South Hadley company, placed in the hands of “The Proprietors of the Upper Locks and Canals on Connecticut River, in the County of Hampshire.” The fall here was about seventy feet. A preliminary examination was begun July 3, 1792, and several plans were considered. As finally located, the canal was on the east side of the river, was three miles long and had eight locks. It had two sections, with a dam at Montague falls and another above at Miller's falls. The former of these was begun in 1793 and completed the next year. In the construction of the upper works there was

¹ On the history of this canal and the inclined plane see: MS. records and papers, Holyoke Water Power Company; *Acts, decrees, deeds, etc.*, printed by the H. W. P. Co., Boston, 1882; “Early traffic on the Connecticut River,” Collins G. Burnham, *N. E. Mag.*, Oct., 1900; “Navigation of Connecticut River,” T. M. Dewey; *Papers and Proc. Conn. Valley Hist. Soc.*, 1876-1881, pp. 114ff; *Dwight's Travels, etc.*, Lond. edn., I.: 286-290; Trumbull's *Hist. of Northampton*, II.: 574-582; Holland's *Hist. of Western Mass.*, I.: 303-306; Sheldon's *Hist. of Deerfield*, II.: 906, 907; *Two Reports, etc.*, 1826, pp. 7, 8, 18; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826, pp. 2, 26, 27, 28, 34.

considerable delay, occasioned by doubt as to the best plan. A meeting of the proprietors was held June 10, 1795, "to determine on the route of the proposed canal and the mode of making the same." The time for the completion of the work was extended two years by an act passed February 25, 1800, but on the 29th of October following, the first boats passed through it. The following spring it was opened for regular traffic. This canal, as originally chartered, was to be twenty feet wide, but in 1819 the company was permitted to reduce this to fifteen feet. A large amount of money was expended on this improvement, said to have been \$150,000. The tolls the first year were \$3,795.51. During the first twenty years of its history the expenses were \$66,526.96 and the receipts \$146,955.74. The average dividend for this period on the 441 shares of stock issued, was $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In 1827, the stock of this company was valued at \$200 a share and that of the lower company at \$280. The traffic through this upper canal was never so extensive as that through the lower.¹

A third company was incorporated March 8, 1828, called "The Proprietors of the Central Locks and Canals on Connecticut River." This company was chartered nominally for the purpose of clearing the channel between the works of the above two companies; but really, as a provision in its charter discloses, to provide for a possible consolidation of these companies in the interests of the larger scheme of the "Riverites" for them proved navigation of the river.²

The movement to improve the navigation of the Connecticut river about 1790 also extended to the river towns

¹ On the Miller's falls canal, see: *Mass. Special Laws*, I.: 329, 406, 461, 515; II.: 270, 360; III.: 528; IV.: 382; V.: 294; "Early Traffic," etc. *N. E. Mag.*, Oct., 1800, pp. 140-144; "Old Time Traffic," etc., *Hist. and Proc. P. V. Mem. Ass.*, III.: 119-121; Gay's *Hampshire Co. Gaz.*, p. 309; Holland's *Hist. of Western Mass.*, I.: 306-310; Dwight's *Travels*, II.: 336; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826, pp. 21-24.

² *Mass. Special Laws*, VI.: 663; *Two Reports*, etc., 1826, p. 8; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826, pp. 24-26.

of New Hampshire and Vermont. As early as 1791, some of the inhabitants of Windsor, Vt., petitioned for a lottery to raise money for clearing out the river, and the Legislature the same year took into consideration not only "the expediency of opening a communication between the waters of Lake Champlain and Hudson's river," but also the means for "rendering the navigation of Connecticut river more easy and advantageous." At this session, October 31, 1791, the House passed an act granting to William Page of Charlestown, N. H., and Lewis R. Morris of Springfield, Vt., "the exclusive privilege of locking Bellows Falls," and directing the governor to issue a charter to the grantees, as "The Company for rendering Connecticut River navigable by Bellows Falls." For some reason the governor did not act, and the company was incorporated by the Legislature in 1792, and the same year in New Hampshire. Several years passed before the canal contemplated by this company was sufficiently completed to be used. Dwight says it was about two-thirds finished in 1797, the very year in which William Page asked the Legislature to increase the toll which had been fixed by the charter. It was in operation soon afterwards. The canal is on the west side of the river, is three-fourths of a mile long, and was originally eighteen feet wide, with seven locks to provide for a descent of about fifty feet. Some of the channel was excavated out of the rock and the construction was very expensive. In 1826, the property was valued at \$70,000, there being eighteen shares of stock. It is now well known in connection with extensive mills.¹

The next improvement up the river was at Sumner's or Quechee falls. The privilege of locking these falls was given to Joseph Kimball in 1791, by the Legislature of

¹ On this canal, see: *Governor and Council*, Vt. IV.: 83, 131, 142, 208, 346, 352, 355, 377, 383, 448; V.: 70, 78; *N. H. State Papers*, XXII.: 622, 663; *Dwight's Travels*, II.: 83, 84; *Two Reports*, etc., 1826, pp. 10, 19; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826, pp. 1, 2, 17, 18.

New Hampshire. In 1794, the Vermont Legislature gave to Perez Gallup and others the exclusive right to lock these falls and incorporated them as "The Company for rendering Connecticut River navigable by Water Quechee Falls." It was some time, however, before the dam, canal and locks necessary were in operation. The descent here was comparatively small, about twelve feet, mostly by rapids. The canal, therefore, was short, and the toll was less than at the others. In early times boats were able to run down through the rapids, but found it impossible to ascend. The canal was narrower than those below. In 1829, when the steamboat "Vermont" made a trip up from Hartford, she was unable, on account of her width, to pass through this canal. The value of this property in 1826 was estimated at \$12,500, and it was found that if up-river navigation was to be carried on, several times that sum would have to be expended on these works.¹

About ten miles above Quechee falls were the White river, or Olcott's falls. The Legislature of New Hampshire incorporated, June 20, 1792, Ebenezer Brewster, Aaron Hutchinson and others as the "White River Falls Bridge Company," "for locking falls, cutting canals and building a bridge over Connecticut river between the mouth of Mink Brook, so called, in Hanover, and the eddy below the lower bar in White River Falls." This act was amended in 1794 and 1796, and the time was extended in 1801. The same company was incorporated by Vermont in 1795. Nothing, however, seems to have been accomplished in constructing a canal by this company; and an act of June 12, 1807, granted Mills Olcott and others the privilege of locking these falls as the "White River Falls Company." This company, in 1810, made a canal on the east side of the river with five locks, and built two dams,

¹ *Governor and Council, Vt., IV.*: 74; *N. H. State Papers, XXII.*: 202, 244, 300, 374, 413; *Tucker's Hist. of Hartford, Vt.*, pp. 149, 150; *Two Reports, etc.*, 1825, p. 10; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826, pp. 13, 14.

one near each fall. Here the descent of the river in one mile was about thirty-six feet. This company was authorized to take such tolls as they saw fit for a period of twelve years, and for some time after its expiration the tolls were not regulated by the State. Hence a high value was placed upon this property in 1826, being \$50,000. This led to a plan for constructing a canal on the west side of the river, which would probably have been adopted if the river properties had been consolidated. The early flat boat traffic through this canal was of course less than through the others, but it was used to a large extent by rafts of lumber from the north.¹

In this survey of the canal improvements of Connecticut river we have the factors that entered into the problem of its navigation during one of the most interesting periods of its history. It must not be inferred, however, that there were not other schemes suggested, some of which were carried out. Here and there sand bars were removed or a channel was cut through them, and other like improvements were made. Companies were formed for locking tributary streams. In Vermont, especially, the river towns were deeply interested in this navigation because of their dependence on it in trade. Some towns made local improvements. Appeals were also made to the state and lotteries were granted. The United States government was asked to make a survey of the river from Barnet to Lake Connecticut and to examine a canal route from the river to Lake Memphremagog.² Of all this interest the Windsor conventions in 1825 and 1830, the Lancaster convention in 1831, and numerous other gatherings to discuss the subject furnish sufficient evidence. But this interest did not originate in the upper Connecti-

¹ *N. H. State Papers*, XXII. : 525, 533, 565, 575, 580; *Laws of N. H.*, VI. : 541, VIII. : 239, X. : 106, XIII. : 207, XVII. : 179; *Governor and Council*, Vt., IV. : 88, 96; Tucker's *Hist. of Hartford*, Vt., pp. 131, 132; *Two Reports*, etc., pp. 10, 19; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826, pp. 1, 12, 13.

² *Governor and Council*, Vt., VII. : 450, 451, 479-482; *Survey—Connecticut River*, etc., 1826; *Report of the Conn. River Co.*, 1826, pp. 2, 3.

cut valley. It ascended the river from the head of sloop navigation with the river men. This was true of the movement during the last decade of the eighteenth century, in which, as we have seen, every canal on the river had its origin. Then it was the revival of trade and emigration that spread the interest. It was also true of the later movement, which began in 1824, reached its height in 1831, and received its death blow in 1844, with the opening of the railroad. In this case the general conditions of the time operated strongly; but there were two particular causes that had a great influence—one was the opening of steamboat navigation between Hartford and New York, and the other was the building of the Farmington and Hampshire and Hampden canals.

At the outset steam navigation on the Connecticut river encountered a serious obstacle in the monopoly of New York waters, which the legislature of that State granted to Messrs. Livingston and Fulton by its act of March 27, 1798. This forbade such a steamboat connection between the river and New York as would otherwise have arisen. At first steamboats ran from New Haven to Byrams Cove near Rye, the boundary line between the states, and passengers went to New York by stage. On this line the "Fulton" was running in 1817. It is said that "to exhibit herself she ran up the Connecticut river, where she was received with great enthusiasm by large crowds." If so, this was the first steamboat on the river, though Samuel Morey, when he was working on his invention, had exhibited it at Hartford more than twenty years before.¹ The line from New Haven to New York awakened great interest in mercantile circles at Hartford. Already John L. Sullivan, Esq., of Boston, an experienced engineer, and for years superintendent of the Middlesex canal, had con-

¹ Duer's *Reply to Mr. Colden's Vindication of the Steam Boat Monopoly*, p. XVI.; "Navigation of Connecticut River," T. M. Dewey, *Papers and Proc. Conn. Valley Hist. Soc.*, 1876-1881, p. 120; *Facts and Considerations*, etc., pp. 3, 5.

ceived the idea of steam tow boats and had secured some valuable patents in furtherance of his plan. Early in 1817 he offered to sell his rights to a company to be formed for conducting a line of "Steam-Tow-Passage-Boats" on the river below Hartford, and after he had looked Enfield falls navigating the river above. His idea was to tow several freight boats by one steamboat especially constructed for the purpose. This proposition was accepted and led to the incorporation of "The Connecticut Steam Boat Company" in October, 1818.¹ This Company had really been formed some months before, money had been raised and a steamboat was in process of construction at Hartford after Sullivan's ideas, as an "experiment of a new kind of steam engine." As originally planned, this boat was to be seventeen feet wide and about seventy long, but before the keel was laid it was thought best to build a boat large enough "to accommodate passengers going to Saybrook." The *Connecticut Courant*, November 10, 1818, has the following item: "Steam-boat launch.—Last week was launched from the ship-yard in this City, the first steam-boat ever built on Connecticut River. It is designed for a tow-boat, to ply between this City and the mouth of the River." The company had financial difficulties and their boat did not fulfil their expectations. She made her first trip on the river July 16, 1819, and attained a speed of six miles an hour, though "gas fire made from tar was found a very useful auxiliary." On the Merrimac river the month before, Sullivan had made similar trials. Still this steamboat, called the "Experiment," was afterwards put into practical service, and in the summer of 1822 was run by Captain Haskell to Saybrook, and the following season made two trips a week to New London.²

¹ *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 1110, 1111; *Explanation by John L. Sullivan, etc.*, 1818; *Copy of a Petition, etc.*, 1819; *Facts and Considerations, etc.*, 1819; *Conn. Courant*, Feb. 7, 1817.

² Letter of John L. Sullivan, Sept. 21, 1819; *Conn. Courant*, Nov. 10, 1818; July 6 and 20, 1819; July 23, 1822; and June 3, 1823.

The parties interested in this company at once began a war against the New York monopoly. They petitioned the Connecticut Legislature, May 7, 1819, for an act similar to that passed in 1811 by the State of New Jersey, to prohibit the boats of the monopoly from entering Connecticut waters. Action was delayed, but such an act was finally passed May 27, 1822, by an almost unanimous vote over the veto of Governor Wolcott.¹ The passage of this "retaliatory law" seems to have opened the way for the organization of a company to run a steamboat between Hartford and the New Jersey shore near New York, and "The Connecticut River Steam Boat Company" was chartered in May, 1823.² Already the people generally were hopeful that the New York restriction on steam navigation would be set aside. Interest was awakened everywhere. In the September following its incorporation the above company announced the building of their first steamboat. This was the "Oliver Ellsworth." She was built by Isaac Webb & Co. of New York, and was launched February 4, 1824. On the 6th of May following she began running from New York and arrived in Hartford the next day with sixty passengers and a large freight, being loudly welcomed by enthusiastic friends of the enterprise.³ Meanwhile the question of restricting

¹ *Conn. Statute Laws*, 1822-23, pp. 33-35.

² *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 1108-1110; *Conn. Courant*, Sept. 9, 1823.

³ *Conn. Courant*, Sept. 9, 1823; May 4, and 11, 1824. The "Oliver Ellsworth" was of 230 tons burden, 112 feet keel, 24 feet beam, 8 feet hold, 127 feet long on her deck, and 26 feet wide to the outside of her guards. She is said to have had "large, commodious and handsomely furnished" cabins with 62 berths. Her speed was about eight miles an hour. Daniel Havens was her captain the first season, and her agents were Chapin and Northam. She ran on the line until 1833, with a short intermission in 1827, when the "Fulton" supplanted her place, and during the cholera of 1832. The "New England," which supplanted her in 1833, burst her boilers at Essex within a few weeks. The "Oliver Ellsworth" was finally sold to New York parties and became a tow-boat on the Hudson river. The following were early steamboats running from Hartford to New York: "Macdonough," 1826-1833; "Commerce," 1825, 1826 and 1829; "Victory," 1830, 1833; "C. J. Marshall," 1832-1835; "New England," 1833-1835; "Water Witch," 1833-1835; "Bunker Hill," 1836-1841; "Lexington," 1835, 1836; "Cleopatra," 1836-1841; "Kingston," 1836-1838; "Charter Oak," 1838, 1839; "Splendid," 1841, 1842; "Globe," 1843-1848; "Kosciusko," 1842-1845; "Champion," 1846-1851; and "Hero," 1848-1852; then superseded by the "City of Hartford." On early Hartford and New York steamboats see: "Early Steamboating," Capt. J. M. Parker, *Hartford Post*, 1879; *Mem. Hist. Hartford Co.*, I.: 555-558.

steam navigation had gone to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*, and March 2, 1824, two months before the "Oliver Ellsworth" was ready, Chief Justice Marshall gave his famous decision against the monopoly. This enabled the Hartford boat to land her passengers in New York. It was evident from the first that there was a large opportunity for steamboat ventures on the Connecticut river. The trade, domestic and foreign, was then large. The issue of the *Connecticut Courant*, which hailed the advent of the "Oliver Ellsworth," announced the arrival of twenty-one vessels and the departure of sixteen in a single week.¹ So naturally other companies sprang into existence. In May, 1824, "The Hartford Steamboat Company" was incorporated and in May, 1825, the "Steam Navigation Company." The former began operations with the steamboat "Macdonough" in 1826, and the latter with the "Commerce." The Hartford and the Connecticut companies continued their lines to New York for some years. Later, steamboats were also run to Sag Harbor and to Norwich. In 1830, the steamboat "Victory" was run as an opposition line and the three boats carried, it is said, two thousand passengers weekly. Cornelius Vanderbilt, in 1833, put on the "Water Witch," under the command of his brother, Captain Jacob H. Vanderbilt, and ran other boats later. The interest of "The Connecticut River Steam Boat Company" finally passed, in 1851, to Colonel Charles H. Northam, who the next year sold to "The Hartford and

¹ In connection with the location of the U. S. Bank, an investigation of the river trade was made in 1816, from which it appears that there were fifty-six vessels then owned at Hartford, twenty-six with a tonnage of 4,839, engaged in the foreign trade, and thirty with a tonnage of 2,351, engaged in the coasting trade. The books of the "Union Company" show that during that year 278 vessels liable to tolls arrived at Hartford, and it was estimated that there were 300 arrivals of vessels not liable, [MSS. U. S. Bank, Conn. Hist. Soc.] In 1846, there were 2,078 arrivals and departures of vessels at Hartford, including 444 steamboats and 208 propellers. Their total freight was 163,430 tons. There were then five regular Boston packets, each making seven trips a season, and five other vessels in this trade. There were also two regular Providence traders, two running to New London and Norwich, three lines of steam propellers to Philadelphia, Albany and New York.

New York Steamboat Company," and so came to "The Hartford and New York Transportation Company," chartered in 1877.

The main purpose of this digression has been accomplished if the interest and even the excitement of 1824 has been duly noted. Steamboats offered a new prospect for the navigation of the river. Trade demanded something better. The up-river traffic would be large if it could be brought down the river.¹ Indeed, this fact was one reason that led to the building of the Farmington canal, the second element referred to as shaping this movement for improving river navigation. At New Haven the steamboat had established a prior claim, and all through the Farmington valley there were abundant prospects for commerce. But above, to be reached at Northampton, was the trade of the upper Connecticut, and the advocates of a canal had some reason to think that the way to the sea was easier by such a water course than by the river, obstructed as it was at Enfield falls. So, in 1822, "The President, Directors and Company of the Farmington Canal" was incorporated to construct a canal from New Haven to the north line of Connecticut.² The incorporation of "The Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company," to continue the canal to Northampton, followed the next year.³ It was seen at once by the people of Hartford and Springfield that unless something was done the trade which from earliest times had gone down the river would be diverted. An "Association for improving the navigation of Connecticut River above Hartford" was therefore formed in 1824, and a committee was appointed "to examine and survey the obstacles" and "to enquire into the most practicable method of improving said navigation." Authorities on the subject were consulted and a preliminary survey was made by Canvass White, Esq., of Troy,

¹ See ante, p. 397. ² *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 300ff.

³ *Mass. Special Acts*, VI.: 42-49, 320, 702-711, 829; VII.: 186, 675-677.

N. Y. The conclusions are given in "Two Reports," which were made to this association and are in print. One was that "a general meeting of citizens from all the towns on or near the valley" should be called. Pursuant to this suggestion, the first Windsor convention met February 16, 1825. At this meeting a second recommendation to the association was considered and adopted, namely, "That it is desirable to combine the interests in all works and improvements through the valley of Connecticut river upon such principles as shall secure the greatest benefit to the publick, consistent with a fair remuneration to those who shall execute the requisite improvements." The charter of the Connecticut River Company had already anticipated this scheme, but the difficulty was to secure harmonious action in the legislatures of the four states concerned. In Vermont an act was passed November 9, 1825, "to provide for improving the navigation in the valley of Connecticut river," which was to be in force when New Hampshire, Connecticut and Massachusetts should have given their assent. This was never fully given, though it was earnestly sought. In Connecticut the act was passed with certain limitations. A company was also chartered in New Hampshire. The legislature of Massachusetts finally gave its consent to the consolidation of the South Hadley and Miller's Falls canals by incorporating "The Proprietors of the Central Locks and Canals on Connecticut River," March 8, 1828, as already related. Thus this attempt at consolidation, an early movement to form a trust, failed.¹

Meanwhile the organization of the Connecticut River Company was perfected. The surveys were resumed in 1825, and maps and plans were made. Negotiations with the proprietors of the several canal properties were begun and an estimate of their value was obtained. It amounted

¹ *Governor and Council, Vt.*, VII.: 196; *Private Laws of Conn.*, I.: 482-486; *House Report*, No. 221, 21st Cong., 1st Sess., p. 6; *Ibid.*, No. 341, p. 1.

to \$368,000, and the improvements contemplated would have increased the expenditure to \$1,500,000. The report of the directors of the above company in 1826, which is the most important pamphlet on the subject, abundantly sets forth the hopes of this party. On the other hand, the friends of the canal project were not idle. The work of excavating the Farmington canal was begun July 4, 1825, at Salmon Brook in Granby, Conn., with much ceremony. A boat mounted on wheels and drawn by six horses was the triumphant chariot in which the dignitaries rode—Governor Wolcott, Hon. Jonathan H. Lyman, the orator, and Rev. Allen McLean, the chaplain. Work at Northampton was begun Nov. 27, 1826. It went forward with enthusiasm. The canal was opened to Cheshire in 1828, to Farmington in 1829, and completed in 1830. In November, 1829, the canal packet, "General Sheldon," was launched, and in the following spring this boat and the "Warranoco" were advertised to sail regularly from Westfield to New Haven, the former for passengers and the latter for freight. A union of the stock of this company and "The Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company" was effected in 1826. In due time the canal was extended to Northampton and was formally opened July 4, 1835, with more ceremony. In 1836 both companies became insolvent and the "New Haven and Northampton Company" was incorporated to receive their franchises. Navigation on this canal was continued until 1847, when the railroad known as the "Canal Road" took its place.¹

The most virulent issue, however, in this war between the "Riverites" and "Canalites" was a further project of "The Hampshire and Hampden Canal Company" to extend this canal still farther north, along the west side of the Connecticut river. This scheme was brought before

¹ *An Account of the Farmington Canal Company, etc.*, 1850; "Old Time Traffic," etc., George Sheldon, *Hist. and Proc. P. V. Mem. Ass.* III. : 124; Gay's *Hampshire Co. Gazetteer*, p. 94; *Hampden Whig*, Feb. 24 and May 26, 1830.

the Massachusetts legislature in 1826, and by an act approved March 12, 1828, was authorized, after animated and somewhat bitter discussion, memorials and protests having been presented on both sides.¹ This was a decided victory for the "Canalites." Already they had made a survey and laid out their route, as may be seen from the printed report of their engineer, Jarvis Hurd, Esq. The result was influenced without doubt by the success of the Erie canal and the project to construct a canal from Boston westward across the state of Massachusetts. Still the "Canalites" were not satisfied. They also sought from the legislatures of New Hampshire and Vermont the incorporation of the "Connecticut River Canal Company."² In this, too, they were successful. The former state passed such an act December 30, 1828, for the construction of a canal parallel with the river from the south line of the state to Israel's river. In Vermont this company was chartered October 29, 1829, giving authority for such a canal from the south line of the state to Lake Memphremagog. Thus the "Canalites" seemed to have everything their own way. There was nothing left to fight for. The idea frequently reiterated in those times that "the Almighty only made a river to feed a canal" had apparently won the victory. The friends of the ancient river that had served their fathers for generations said the "Canalites" would have its waters "locked up" from source to mouth. To this the advocates of progress in that day replied that the "Riverites" would have nothing by and by but "dammed pools." Of course those who were interested in river navigation were somewhat disheartened, but they did not surrender. Already they had begun the practical work of navigating the river, as it remains for us to show. The matter finally went to the United States government in 1830, with the backing of the Windsor convention, each

¹ See Bibliography, Nos. 25-35.

² *House Reports* 221 and 341, 21st Cong. 1st Ses.; *Governor and Council, Vt.*, VII. : 384.

party seeking national aid for their plan, in which they were disappointed. If we may here forecast the conclusion of the whole matter, this controversy and the success of the friends of canals, kept back the investment of large sums upon enterprises to improve river navigation until the railroad made it no longer necessary. The report of "The Connecticut River Company" in 1826 said, "We think the subject of a railway may safely be dismissed from consideration"; but many of the river's friends lived to find comfort in their defeat and to hear the locomotive triumphantly whistling over the grave which the "Canalites" had unwittingly dug for themselves, as well as humiliating the pride of their own steamboats.

The origin of the movement for up-river navigation by steam is now evident. The friends of the river decided in 1826 to demonstrate the superiority of their schemes. So they contracted in the summer of that year with Messrs. Brown and Bell, of New York, to build a small steamboat that would be able to navigate the upper Connecticut. This boat was named the "Barnet" after the Vermont town she hoped to reach, and was launched September 26, 1826. She reached Hartford on the 15th of November, being towed part of the way by the "Macdonough," and two days later steamed up to Warehouse Point, intending to pass up over Enfield falls, the canal not being as yet constructed. The people along the river turned out to greet her with loud huzzas and salutes of fire-arms, to which the noise of her exhaust steam gave sufficient response. This first attempt to get the "Barnet" over the falls was a failure, though she was poled up nearly to the island. The "Riverites" said the reason was a strong "head wind," but the "Canalites" ironically attributed it to "some con-founded obstacles in the way of river navigation." She returned to Hartford, and on the 28th of November made another attempt, coming to Warehouse Point the day before. She had two scows in tow, and it is said that the trip

took six hours. Even the flat boats passed her and the river men mockingly said they had to pole at "low pressure" and "let off steam" to keep her company. This time she was successful. A scow was lashed on either side, in each of which thirty "falls-men" were to effect the task with their "setting poles." Slowly, but steadily, she made the ascent. A river boat that was coming down ran on the rocks to get out of her way. When she reached still water she took one of her scows filled with river men in tow and went on to Springfield, where she was welcomed by the cheers of citizens and a salute of twice twenty-four guns. An excursion on the river was given the next day, and toward night, by the assistance of men on the bank, she passed up through Willimansett rapids to South Hadley falls, where she rested from her labors over Thanksgiving day. On the 1st of December she reached Northampton, on the 2d Miller's Falls, and steamed up Deerfield river to Cheapside. After being icebound for a week she pursued her voyage and finally reached Bellows Falls, where this "plaguey strange contrivance," as some of the natives described her, was received with the ringing of bells and firing of cannon. Here the event was celebrated by a banquet at the Mansion House. They duly toasted the president of the company, Alfred Smith, Esq., their neighbors of Hartford, the Connecticut river, the "Barnet," and the four states. The undertone of sentiment on that occasion can be readily gathered from such a toast as this: "The Valley of the Connecticut—needs no canal while the river runs." The return trip occupied five days, and the "Barnet" arrived at Hartford on the 19th of December, being received with cheers and an artillery salute. Such was the first trip of an up-river steamboat. The venture accomplished its purpose. It convinced some who had considered the scheme as visionary, and awakened enthusiasm in all. The "Riverites" were jubilant. On the return of the "Barnet" they met at Morgan's coffee

house in Hartford, had a great supper, with many invited guests, and otherwise rejoiced. One can easily understand how on such festive occasions such a sentiment as the following, which runs through sixty-three verses of a poem, might have made merriment.

"I heard a fellow say, quoth Dick,
This steamboat could n't get up;
The Hartford folks were all afraid
Canal boats would be set up."¹

The "Barnet" did not prove to be the best model for an up-river steamboat. She was 75 feet long, 14½ feet wide, drew 22 inches of water and had a flat bottom, wall sides and stern paddle-wheel. Her special task was to ascend the river and she was not so well adapted to pass through the falls. One of the toasts at the Bellows Falls banquet was "The town of Barnet—may she speedily be gratified with a sight of her first-born." She never was, however, and the "Barnet," after the grand opening of the canal, disappeared.

This experiment sufficiently encouraged "The Connecticut River Company" to hasten the construction of its canal. Work was begun in the summer of 1827, and the canal was opened November 11, 1829. In anticipation of this event, Thomas Blanchard, of Springfield, had constructed two steamboats, the "Blanchard" and the "Vermont." These were stern-wheel boats, of the proper size and equipment for this river navigation. The former had been tried up and down the river and met with great favor. It is said that her first trip to Hartford was reported as follows: "Marine Intelligence Extra—Cleared from How-

¹ On the trip of the "Barnet" and other up-river steamboats, see: *Conn. Courant*, Aug. 28, Dec. 4, 11, 25, 1826, May 26, 1826; *Springfield Journal*, Nov. 23, 1826; *Conn. Herald*, Nov. 21, 28; Dec. 5, 12, 1826; *Bellows Falls Intelligencer*, Dec. 1, 1826; *Reply to Trumbull*, etc., pp. 20-22; *Hayden's Hist. Sketches*, pp. 28, 29; "Nav. of Conn. River," T. M. Dewey, *Papers and Proc. Conn. Valley Hist. Soc.*, p. 118; "Old Time Traffic, etc., George Sheldon, *Hist. and Proc. P. V. Mem. Ass.* III. : 126; "Early Traffic," etc., Collins G. Burnham, *N. E. Mag.*, Oct., 1900, p. 146; *Gay's Hampshire Co. Gaz.*, p. 93; Photograph of "The Old Time Steamboat of 1840," Springfield Pub. Lib. *Conn. River Portfolio*.

ard St. Landing, Tuesday, October 9, [?] Steam-boat Blanchard for Hartford and a market. Cargo principally *live stock* (30 or 40 passengers), wine, porter, crackers, cheese, etc."¹ The latter boat had just returned from a trip up the river, in which she went as far as Quechee falls. Both of these boats were able to ascend Enfield falls. On the occasion of the canal opening, the "Blanchard" brought up a party from Hartford, and it is said also that the "Barnet," having in tow the "Safety Barge Lady Palmer" with a party, was present. The "Vermont" brought down another party from Springfield. Others came in carriages, some from quite a distance, to attend the celebration of this great event in the river's history. The boats were locked through the canal and the rejoicing over the happy issue of the enterprise was long remembered in the town.²

One of the most interesting events in connection with this canal was the building of the sloop "Eagle" on its banks. She was built by Samuel Denslow, of Windsor Locks, and launched sideways into the canal. Her dimensions were adapted to pass through these locks and her burden was one hundred tons—larger than the vessels that navigated the river in early times. It was thought that she was to be the first of a great up-river fleet. On the 22d of April, 1830, the citizens of Springfield were "gratified with a novel sight," says the newspaper. It was the arrival of the "Eagle." She brought a cargo of grain directly from Troy, N. Y., and returned with a cargo from Springfield to Hartford and New York. This was the first arrival of the kind. As far as known, she never returned or was above the falls.³

After the opening of this canal, there was a regular line of steamboats between Hartford and Springfield until 1846, but during the latter part of this period they were

¹ "Early Traffic," etc., Collins G. Burnham, *N. E. Mag.*, Oct., 1900, p. 146.

² Hayden's *Hist. Sketches*, pp. 30, 31.

³ *Hampden Whig*, April 28, 1830; *Windsor Locks Journal*, Oct. 10, 1902.

devoted entirely to freight. In 1830, the "Blanchard" and the "Vermont" each made one round trip daily from Springfield, the fare being one dollar. The "Vermont" and a new Blanchard boat, the "Massachusetts," ran in 1831 and 1832. During the cholera of the latter year, while the New York boats did not run, they extended their trips down the river to Saybrook, and the "James Dwight" ran on the same route. The "Massachusetts" was on the line in 1833 and 1834, but she was too large for practicable service through the locks and usually ascended the falls. Other boats followed—the "Agawam," "Franklin," "Hampden," etc. On the first of these Charles Dickens travelled from Springfield to Hartford February 7, 1842, the first trip of the season, and a very rainy day, when the river was full of ice. In his *American Notes* he wrote of this steamboat as follows: "It certainly was not called a small steamboat without reason, I omitted to ask the question, but I should think it must have been of about half a pony power. Mr. Paap, the celebrated Dwarf, might have lived and died happily in the cabin, which was fitted with common sash-windows like an ordinary dwelling-house. These windows had bright red curtains, too, hung on slack strings across the lower panes; so that it looked like the parlour of a Lilliputian public-house, which had got afloat in a flood or some other water accident, and was drifting nobody knew where. But even in this chamber there was a rocking-chair. It would be impossible to get anywhere, in America, without a rocking-chair. I am afraid to tell how many feet short this vessel was, or how many feet narrow; to apply the words length and breadth to such measurement would be a contradiction in terms. But I may state that we all kept the middle of the deck, lest the boat should unexpectedly tip over; and that the machinery, by some surprising process of condensation, worked between it and the keel, the whole forming a warm sandwich about three feet thick."

After it was ascertained that up-river steam navigation was a practicable scheme, the freighting business was modified. The flat-boats were made larger and often towed by steamboats. Several companies were formed to conduct this business, such as the "Hartford and Greenfield Tow Boat Company," the "John Cooley Boating Company," the "Springfield Steamboat Company," etc. In the later years of this traffic it was reduced to two firms, J. Cooley & Co., with six boats and one steamer, and Parker, Douglas & Co., with five boats and one steamer. As late as 1851 an attempt was made to revive this business by the incorporation of "The Steam Boating Company" of Hartford, but the parties soon compromised with the railroad for the steamboat "Granite State." All these boats were finally sold to be used in southern waters. The "C. H. Dexter" was the last of her class.

An attempt was made after the Enfield falls canal was opened to realize the hopes of the "Riverites" for a steamboat line running from Hartford to Barnet. The very autumn of its opening the legislature of Vermont incorporated the "Connecticut River Steamboat Company," the name of which was altered the next year to the "Connecticut River Valley Steam Boat Company."¹ "The Connecticut River Company" was largely interested in this enterprise. In February, 1830, three hundred dollars were offered in prizes for the best three steamboats completed before the 1st of August. These boats were to be not less than seventy-five feet long and fifteen feet wide. At the second Windsor convention, September 29, 1830, the subject was thoroughly considered and a plan was formed. The entire distance was divided into five sections of about forty miles, starting at Hartford, the division points being South Hadley Falls, Miller's Falls, Bellows Falls, White River Falls and Wells River. Five steamboats were to be constructed for this line and it was thought that each

¹ *Governor and Council, Vt., VII.: 384. Tucker's Hist. of Hartford, Vt., p. 150.*

could make two trips a day on its reach. These boats were built and were the "William Hall," "Ariel Cooley," "William Holmes," "David Porter," and "Adam Duncan." An advertisement of March 15, 1831, announces that they had begun to run and were ready for freight. All of them did run during that season, but in the autumn the company failed.¹ In July of that same year the "John Ledyard," which had been built expressly to pass through all the locks on the river, reached the most northerly point ever attained by a river steamboat. This boat was commanded by Captain Samuel Nutt, a famous river man. He had a glorious voyage, was loudly greeted everywhere, and made as brave an attempt to reach the north pole of the "Riverites'" dreams as any man could, but his little steamboat finally got aground on a sand bar just north of Wells river. A poem was written to commemorate his achievement and a stanza will make a good epitaph for the enterprise.

"It's gone! it's gone! the day is past,
And night's dark shade is o'er us cast,
And farther, farther, farther still,
The steamboat's winding through the vale.
The bells ring out their farewell peal,
The cannons roar o'er hill, through dale;
We'll hail the day when Captain Nutt
Sailed up our fair Connecticut."²

The failure of this company ended the hopes of the "Riverites." The movement had reached its height and from that time it declined. In a few years the canal companies failed also. The schemes of both parties were entirely feasible, but the outlay to make them successful was out of proportion to the financial returns. In respect to the passenger traffic, neither of them could compete with even the stage lines when the roads were good. On

¹ *Early Traffic*, etc., *N. E. Mag.*, Oct., 1900, pp. 147, 148; *Journal of the Convention*, etc., 1830, pp. 5, 8-11; *Hampden Whig*, Feb. 24, 1830; Feb. 2, 16, 1831; *Vt. Hist. Mag.*, II.: 955.

² *Tucker's Hist. of Hartford, Vt.*, pp. 373-376.

the arrival of the New York boat at Hartford it was the stages rather than the up-river steamboats that received the passengers and hurried them northward. But the boats had the advantage in freighting until the railroads came. A movement was started in 1871 to revive this latter business.¹ The government, at considerable expense, constructed a series of wing dams between Hartford and Warehouse Point, and no doubt the channel was materially improved; but the old-time steamboat did not return. More recently other plans have been discussed and advocated.² Of their merits we express no opinion. The fact of history, however, is unmistakable,—this up-river navigation was an easy victim for the railroad. The "Hartford and New Haven Railroad," opened to Meriden in 1838, and to Hartford in 1839, at once affected the steamboats below Hartford; and the "Hartford and Springfield Railroad," opened in 1844, and consolidated the same year with the former, had a like effect on the up-river boats, which had already felt the competition of the railroad from Springfield eastward. Even the freight traffic that remained was continued beyond its normal limit by the disproportionate rates which the "Short Haul Bill" stopped. In 1846 the future of this up-river navigation was so far conceded that it was proposed to extend the Enfield canal to Hartford for manufacturing purposes.³ This failure was not due to impracticable schemes, to the lack of enterprise, or any unwise management. The navigator triumphed over the falls, floods and sand bars of the Connecticut river. It came to pass by natural means in the progress of the age. The river was bidden by an irresistible authority to seek another mission in furnishing

¹ *Papers and Letters*, Springfield Pub. Lib. *Conn. River Portfolio*; *Boston Sunday Globe*, Western Mass. Edn., Feb. 2, 1896; *Report of Chief of Engineers*, U. S., 1878, pp. 246-391; *Ex. Doc. No. 101*, 45th Cong. 2nd Sess.

² *The Connecticut River*, etc., 1896; *Hartford Courant*, Oct. 15, 16, 17, 1902; Jan. 12, 13, 17, 1903; *Hartford Times*, Jan. 17, 23, 1903.

³ *Report of the Com. and Engineer*, etc., 1847.

the necessary power for its mills. It almost seems as if this honored river, ere it submitted to its fate, made one last dying struggle *to down* its enemy. Its waters rose higher in the freshet of 1854 than they had since 1639, and drowned out the railroads. On the first of May, they were at their highest. The president of "The Connecticut River Company" had a note to pay in Hartford. So Captain John Abbe, one of the last of the old-time river men, fired up his little steamboat, the "G..P. Goodsell," and with many excursionists aboard, steamed down the swollen river, passing through the draw of the railroad with disdainful toots, going around the Hartford bridge and over its causeway, with several feet of water under her keel, and finally landing his passengers within a stone's throw of the State House.¹ It was the last triumph of steamboat navigation. The Connecticut river was satisfied with showing what it could do on occasion and rested on its ancient honors, which Joel Barlow had commemorated in his "Vision of Columbus."

"No watery gleams through happier valleys shine,
Nor drinks the sea a lovelier wave than thine."

¹ Hayden's *Hist. Sketches*, pp. 34, 35.

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the causes of the explosion | of the | Steam Boat New
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| Published by the steam boat company. | New Haven :
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- 43.—Affidavits and Statements | showing the | Improvement
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town, | by the operations of the | Union Company. |
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- 44.—Remarks, Affidavits, &c. | showing the | Improvement in
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- 45.—Report of the Committee | to investigate the affairs of the
| Union Company. | n. p. n. d. [1836] 8° pp. 8.—Conn.
Hist. Soc.
- 46.—To the Sheriff of the County of Hartford etc., n. p. n. d.
[1836] 8° pp. 12. [Summons, etc., in case of Union Co.
vs. S. & W. Kellogg.]—Conn. Hist. Soc.
- 47.—An Argument | to the Opponents of the Proposed Loan |
to the | Canal Company. | n. p. n. d. 8° pp. 7. [J. L.
Sullivan, New Haven, March, 1839. New Haven Palla-
dium Press.]—Yale Coll. Lib.
- 48.—Statement of Facts | in relation to the | Grant of a Bridge
at Middletown, | to the | New York and Boston Railroad
Company, | General Assembly, May session, 1846. |
n. p. n. d. [1847?] 8° pp. 24.—Conn. Hist. Soc.

[See {No. 50. Other pamphlets on bridges are omitted as not directly related to the subject.]

- 49.—Report | of the | Committee and Engineer, | on the subject
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nish the | City with Water and Water Power. | Hartford :
. . Case, Tiffany & Burnham. 1847. 8° pp. 42 and map.
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- 50.—Statement | to the | People of Connecticut, | as to the |
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River, | at | Middletown. | Hartford : . . Case, Tiffany
& Burnham. 1848. 8° pp. 23.—Bos. Pub. Lib., Conn.
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- 51.—An | Account | of the | Farmington Canal Company ; |
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suspension of its Canals in 1847. | New Haven : Thomas
J. Stafford, Printer. 1850. 8° pp. 24.—Bos. Pub.
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- 52.—Charter | of the | Connecticut River Company | and the |
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1824 & 5. | Hartford : . . Case, Lockwood and Company.
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- 53.—Report of the Committee | on the | Proposed Hartford
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| January 18, 1867, | together with former | reports of
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man & Eaton. 1867. 8° pp. 46.—Conn. Hist. Soc.
- 54.—Acts, Decrees, Deeds, | and | Abstracts of Deeds | relating
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Holyoke | Water Power Company. | Compiled and ar-
ranged | 1882. | Boston : Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers,
. . . 1882. 8° pp. 165.—Conn. Hist. Soc.
- 55.—The | Connecticut River. | Importance of | Opening it to
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| with | report of Smith S. Leach, Major U. S. Engineer
Corps, | Survey of river, with methods and | probable
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- 56.—Is there | any good reason | Why | Hartford | should have
better facilities | for | Water Transportation | than |
Springfield | and | Holyoke? | n. p. n. d. [Springfield,
1903] 16° pp. 14. [Reprint from the Hartford Courant
and Hartford Times, Jan. 17-23, 1903.]—Conn. Hist.
Soc.

DID SIR THOMAS BROWNE WRITE "FRAGMENT ON MUMMIES" ?

BY SAMUEL SWETT GREEN.

Listen to an extract from the "Fragment":

"Of their living habitations they made little account, conceiving of them but as *hospitia*, or inns, while they adorned the sepulchres of the dead, and planting thereon lasting bases, defied the crumbling touches of time, and the misty vaporousness of oblivion. Yet all were but Babel vanities. Time sadly overcometh all things, and is now dominant, and sitteth upon a Sphinx, and looketh unto Memphis and old Thebes, while his sister Oblivion reclineth semisomnous on a pyramid, gloriously triumphing, making puzzles of Titanian erections, and turning old glories into dreams. History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveller as he paceth through those deserts asketh of her, Who builded them? and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not."

Emerson, as is well known, after quoting this extract, in his essay "Poetry and Imagination," writes: "It would not be easy to refuse to Sir Thomas Browne's 'Fragment on Mummies' the claim of poetry." Every man of taste echoes Emerson's estimate. But did Sir Thomas Browne write these eloquent and impressive lines?

Senator Hoar called my attention, a few months ago, to the following passage in the sketch of Sir Thomas Browne, by A. H. Bullen, in the great English work, Dictionary of National Biography:

"The 'Fragment on Mummies' which Wilkin received without suspicion and printed in the fourth volume of Browne's works (1835), was written by James Crossley (1800-1883)." Mr. Crossley was born in Halifax, England,

but "when he left school," according to the writer of the sketch of his life in the aforementioned Dictionary of National Biography, "in 1816 went to Manchester, and in the following year was articled to Thomas Ainsworth, solicitor, father of the novelist, W. Harrison Ainsworth, whose literary mentor he became. . . . In 1823 Crossley was admitted a partner with Mr. Ainsworth and he continued in practice until 1860." Mr. Crossley lived in Manchester until he died, and was a very important factor in the literary life of that place. He was especially interested in the writings of Sir Thomas Browne. He wrote many articles for Blackwood's Magazine and the Retrospective Review. Several of these, including his first contribution to the former periodical, written before he was out of his teens, were on Sir Thomas Browne and his works.

"In 1822," writes his biographer, "he edited a small duodecimo volume of 'Tracts by Sir Thomas Browne, Knight, M. D.,' of which five hundred copies were printed. He intended to bring out a complete edition of Browne's works, but was forestalled by Mr. Simon Wilkin. When Crossley heard of that admirable editor's projected work, he offered some valuable suggestions. One of the pieces which he sent as being copied from a manuscript in the British Museum was, however, undoubtedly written by Crossley himself. This was the clever 'Fragment on Mummies,' which Wilkin printed in good faith (Browne, *Works*, 1835, IV. 273)."

Noticing that the sketch of Mr. Crossley was written by an old acquaintance of mine, Mr. Charles W. Sutton, of Manchester, England, I wrote to him to ask for the evidence on which his statement regarding the authorship of the "Fragment" rested. He answered kindly and fully, and it is for the purpose of enabling you to share the information which he has given me that I have written this little paper.

I append copies of Mr. Sutton's letter to me and the extracts which he has courteously sent to me. His letter and the type-written extracts received from him I shall place in the Free Public Library, Worcester.

I will only remark in the way of comment that it is hard to understand how Mr. Crossley, if he wrote the magnificent passage read and the rest of the "Fragment," could refrain from claiming their authorship.

I also add to the paper a copy of a letter from the eminent critic, our associate, Sir Leslie Stephen. The letter was written to our deceased associate, John Bellows, and sent by him to Mr. Hoar. Mr. Stephen was editor of the Dictionary of National Biography when the volumes containing the sketches of Browne and Crossley were contributed to it, and believes the "Fragment" to have been a forgery.

Free Reference Library, King St., Manchester,
Nov. 1st, 1902.

My Dear Mr. GREEN:

With reference to the authorship of the Fragment on Mummies you will be interested in the enclosed extracts. I think the evidence of Dr. Crompton is good enough. I knew the Doctor very well, as I did Mr. Crossley, and he was a shrewd man, not likely to make a mistake on such a matter. The fact that the Fragment disappeared from the later edition (Bohn's) of Wilkin's Browne shows that Wilkin had sufficient reasons to leave it out, or at least was not satisfied as to its genuineness.

I am sorry you could not get to Manchester when you were in England. It would have been pleasant to have again shaken you by the hand. Mr. W. E. A. Axon, of this city, asks me to remember him to you, though he fears he may have past from your memory. With kind regards,

Yours truly,

CHARLES W. SUTTON.

[From a communication by Dr. Samuel Crompton in the *Palatine Note Book*, Oct., 1883, vol. iii., p. 228.]

There can be no doubt that the "Fragment on Mummies," in Sir Thomas Browne's Works, 1885, vol. iv., page 278, was not written by Sir Thomas, but by Mr. Crossley. Wilkin, the editor of Browne, says he gives it "on the authority of Mr. Crossley; but has not been able to find the volume in the British Museum which contained it; nor could he inform me, having transcribed it himself in the Museum, but omitted to note the volume in which he met with it" (vol iv., 278, note).

Some years ago I happened to read this Fragment, and I felt sure that it was a forgery. The next time I saw Mr. Crossley

I said, "Oh, Mr. Crossley, about that fragment of Sir Thomas Browne's on 'Mummies'?" He said in reply what I have above quoted from Wilkin. I replied, "Nonsense, sir, it is a forgery, and you wrote it yourself." He seemed startled and then said, "You are the first that ever suspected it." He asked me how it was that I had arrived at my opinion, and I explained. In the course of conversation he said that Bulwer quoted a passage from it as one of the finest things Sir Thomas ever wrote.

I may cite a passage from the Fragment in order to correct a misprint, and to show how admirably Mr. Crossley imitated the style of the almost inimitable Sir Thomas.

"Of their living habitations they made little account, conceiving of them but as hospitia, or inns, while they adorned the sepulchres of the dead, and planting thereon [read, them on] lasting bases, defied the crumbling touches of time and the misty vaporousness of oblivion. Yet all were but Babel vanities. Time sadly overcometh all things, and is now dominant, and sitteth upon a Sphinx, and looketh unto Memphis and old Thebes, while his sister Oblivion reclineth semisomnous on a pyramid, gloriously triumphing, making puzzles of Titanian erections, and turning old glories into dreams. History sinketh beneath her cloud. The traveller as he paceth amazedly through these deserts asketh of her, Who builded them? and she mumbleth something, but what it is he heareth not."

I have little doubt that the "Dialogue between two twins in the womb, concerning the world they were to come into," alluded to in page 267 of Dr. Greenhill's exquisite edition of *The Religio Medici*, 1881, is also by Mr. Crossley. But as I never saw this tract, I never in person challenged Mr. Crossley with it, though I may have done so in a letter to him.

[From the "Books and Bookmen" column in *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 14, 1901.]

While we are speaking of Sir Thomas Browne and mummies, the occasion seems favourable to ask whether any reader will be so kind as to give us the reference to the full text of that stately writer's "Fragment on Mummies" to which Emerson, when quoting it in his essay on "Poetry and Imagination," thinks it difficult to refuse "the claim of poetry." Emerson's extract is clearly taken from a longer passage, but we have been unable to find it in Bohn's reprint of Wilkin's edition of Browne. Here is the passage quoted by Emerson, which has always seemed to us to be one of Browne's finest things, and not far from the high-water mark of this particular kind of stately, sombre, and gorgeous prose. (Quotation follows.)

[From *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 17, 1901.]

SIR THOMAS BROWNE ON MUMMIES.

Sir,

In your exceedingly interesting "Books and Bookmen" column in to-day's paper it is asked whether any reader will supply the reference to the full text of the "Fragment on Mummies." The text will be found in the original issue of Simon Wilkin's edition of Sir Thomas Browne's Works, 1835, vol. iv., page 273. It is there given from a copy in the handwriting of Mr. James Crossley, of Manchester. In a footnote Wilkin says:—"I have given this fragment on the authority of Mr. Crossley, but have not been able to find the volume in the British Museum which contained it; nor could he inform me, having transcribed it himself in the Museum, but omitted to note the volume in which he met with it." It is no wonder that it could not be found, for Crossley was hoaxing the learned editor of Sir Thomas Browne, the "Fragment" being a jeu d'esprit from our townsman's own pen. It is a marvellously clever imitation of Browne's style.

Yours &c.

C. W. SUTTON.

Sir,—

The true history of the "Fragment on Mummies" included in the works of Sir Thomas Browne will be found in the "Palatine Note Book" (vol. III., pp. 222-4, 228). The evidence there cited leaves no doubt that it was written by the late Mr. James Crossley, F.S.A., of Manchester. It is a fine echo of Browne's style, and yet curiously unlike the genuine passage about mummies to be found in his "Letter to a Friend."

Yours &c.

A.

[From *Manchester Guardian*, Dec. 21, 1901.]

We are much obliged to Mr. Charles W. Sutton and the correspondent who signs himself "A" for clearing up a long-standing uncertainty about the "Fragment on Mummies" which Emerson attributed to Sir Thomas Browne. We should never have guessed that it was not a genuine piece by the author of the "Urn Burial," and are inclined to place Mr. James Crossley, who wrote it, among the most skilful imitators of other men's style of whom literary history tells us. At the same time we wish that he had been less modest and had been willing to claim his jeu d'esprit, instead of passing it off on Wilkin and a whole generation of students as a genuine fragment of Browne's work. A great deal of time must have been wasted in hunting for the original of the fragment, which might have been turned to more profitable use. Surtees, of Mainsworth, who was himself one

of the most audacious of literary impostors, tells us that "to literary imposition, as tending to obscure the path of inquiry, Ritson gave no quarter"; and few students will deny that Ritson, for all his eccentricity, was right in this particular.

(Copied.)

22 Hyde Park Gate,
29, 1, 02

My Dear Mr. Bellows,

I find from the Dict'y of Nat'l Biography that the "fragment on Mummies" was certainly written by James Crossley (1800-1888), a well-known antiquary at Manchester. (See both lives in the D. N. B.) Crossley gave the fragment to Wilkin, the editor of Browne's works saying that he had copied the passage from some book in the British Museum and forgotten where he had found it. Wilkin states this in a note to the "fragment" and must have been very simple if he did not suspect the mystification. Crossley was a remarkably clever & learned man & it is no disgrace to be taken in by his sham.

I am sorry to hear of your illness. I have heard of you from my sister once or twice. She is going through a very sad time at Richmond but her health seems to be pretty good and she is certainly a great comfort to her cousin.

With all good wishes that you may get off "your beam ends" again I am

Yours very sincerely

(Signed)

L. STEPHEN.

PORTRAIT OF JOHN BELLOWES.

[FROM A NEWSPAPER REPORT IN THE *Gloucester (ENG.) Journal* OF
JAN. 10, 1903.]

A most interesting function took place at the Guildhall, Gloucester, on Tuesday afternoon, the occasion being the unveiling of a portrait in oils of the late Mr. John Bellows, and the presentation of the picture to the Corporation, on behalf of the subscribers. The company present was an influential and representative one. On the motion of the Mayor (Ald. E. Sidney Hartland), seconded by Mr. F. A. Hyett, the Lord Lieutenant of the County (the Earl of Ducie), was asked to preside.

His Lordship said he felt it an honor to be called upon to perform the ceremony for which they had assembled that afternoon. He had had the good fortune to know the late John Bellows for forty years or more. They had many tastes in common, and often met and corresponded, and he learnt to know not only his personal worth, but his great ability. John Bellows was a many-sided man, and he did not think any one person could have really known him thoroughly. He was a traveller, linguist, antiquary, and many other things. Apart from his relation to the City and County of Gloucester, he was widely known as editor and proprietor of Bellows's French Dictionary. That was a book of great intrinsic merit, and he expected everybody knew it. If Dr. Johnson had lived, even he would have commended it, although he might have had something sarcastic to say about the effeminacy of the present race that required a dictionary not to weigh more than five or six ounces. (Laughter.) John Bellows was known not only in this country, but in the United States, where he was known as well and probably better than in England. He (the speaker) supposed that some of them might have come across the passage in one of Mark Twain's works in which he spoke of the dictionary and the desire of young English and American ladies to perfect themselves in French. In the passage referred to, Mark Twain said that he once saw a young lady at church with what looked like a prayer book, but it was not a prayer book, it was "John Bellows's excellent French Dictionary." (Laughter.) In "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, the author, speaking of John Bellows, thus referred to him:—"One of the scholarly printers and publishers, who honor the calling of Aldus and the Elzevirs." His lordship went on to

• speak of the professional assistance the late John Bellows had given him in little matters of printing and books. He said he always felt safe in his hands, and not only was there never a mistake, but generally speaking some great improvement on what he (the speaker) had suggested. In unveiling the portrait, which hung on the wall of the Council Chamber near the fireplace, to the right of the Mayoral chair, the Lord Lieutenant said the subscribers had asked him to offer and to entrust the portrait to the Mayor, Corporation, and the citizens of Gloucester, with the hope that it might long remain there as a faithful portrait of one of the most eminent worthies of the county. (Applause.)

The Mayor said: On behalf of the Corporation and the citizens of Gloucester, I have much pleasure, albeit a melancholy pleasure, in accepting the portrait which you, my Lord, have presented on behalf of the subscribers. And perhaps, though myself a subscriber, I may venture, as the mouthpiece of the city, to express the appreciation which I am sure the general body of the citizens will feel for the gift. Hung as you see, in a place of honor in the Council Chamber, this portrait will constantly recall to those who knew him in his habit as he lived, and will preserve for future generations, the semblance—the outward bodily semblance—of one of whom living we were all proud as a fellow-citizen, and of whom dead we all think as one who in these modern days, by his character and his deeds, worthily sustained the ancient glories of the city of Gloucester. But alas! it cannot preserve the magic of his presence and his speech. . . But perhaps I may be allowed to try to describe in a few words the impression made by John Bellows upon one who first met him in his latter years, after his early struggles were over, and his position in life and in letters was assured. To such a one his most obvious characteristic was his intense individuality. There was no mistaking him: he was John Bellows, and nobody else. His lean, tall figure, slightly bent, his quaint garb, his bright and earnest eyes, arrested the attention at once. When you got into conversation with him, no matter about what, his quiet manner, his old-world speech and courtesy, his wide knowledge and accurate memory, his readiness to listen, as well as to talk, his kindly witticisms, and his endless store of facts and anecdotes, constituted an unbounded charm. Further acquaintance made known a character of the deepest and most solemn convictions, sharply defined beliefs carried out in daily life with punctual and even ritualistic formality, but all controlled and brought into harmony by an overflowing kindness, a spontaneous love for his fellow-men that impelled him not merely to avoid offence, but to seek for their highest good. It was a revelation. You felt that a new planet, as brilliant as unexpected, had swum into your ken. You had found an unique personality, the impress of which

would be an abiding possession. You might have been disposed at first to think him eccentric. If so, you were soon undeceived. Eccentricity is the masquerade of little minds. John Bellows was too great for that. His manners, dress, and speech were the outcome of a large and vivid personality, expressing itself in its own way, because it could not do otherwise. Such a nature could not go exactly the way that others went. It had to be its own pioneer. "Thorough," therefore was not his policy—it was himself. No compromise was possible. Whether it were the making of a dictionary, or the living of a religion, the advocacy of a policy of state, the pursuit of a scientific enquiry, or the earning of his bread, thoroughness was everywhere and at all times much more than a matter of conscience: it was a necessity he could no more escape than he could escape his own soul. This was what marked him out from common men, this was what sundered him sometimes, to his sorrow and theirs, from those he loved, and with whom he was in general agreement and sympathy. On this rested all his achievement; on this his commercial success; on this the literary and scientific attainments which have made him a world-wide name. Moreover, he carried it into a region where few men have the leisure or the will to carry it—he carried it into his charities. He was not one who, after a life of ill-doing, would buy salvation for his soul, and local immortality for his memory, at the cost of his kindred and dependants, by means of inordinate bequests for so-called charitable purposes. Rather than that he would have buried himself in oblivion; he would have prayed for annihilation. Laborious journeys, often fraught with imminent personal danger, to the battle-ground between France and Germany during the war of 1870, many years later to the Caucasus, and later still to the Balkan peninsula, witness to the spirit in which he performed what he conceived to be a solemn duty. Those journeys may have overtaken his physical powers; they may have helped to exhaust his frame whilst his mind was still in the plenitude of vigor; but they earned him the gratitude of thousands, and they permanently associated his name with the efforts for which his country is famous, to raise the fallen and to bring hope to the miserable. It was an honor to have such a man as fellow-citizen, to look into his eyes, to clasp his hand, to hold friendly intercourse with him. The skill of the painter here keeps for us and for our children some faint idea of his presence. His French dictionary is a monument of his originality, his tenacity, his industry, his conquest of difficulties.

The following letter was received from Senator Hoar:—
"Worcester, Mass., July 18th, 1902. My dear Mr. Mayor.—I have seen in a Gloucester paper an account of a meeting for the purpose of getting money for a portrait of the late John Bellows,

to be placed in some appropriate place in your city. I should send a contribution at once but that I think it likely that the money needed has been long ago contributed. If that be not true, my wife and I will be glad to be permitted to make a moderate contribution. We had the great pleasure of a visit from Mr. Bellows and his wife last year at my home in Worcester. And I have more than once been at his house near Gloucester. His friendship was one of the delights of my life. He made a great many friends during his late visit to the United States. He seemed to me to be a man of rare accomplishments, of great original genius, and of a sweet and loving nature. Everybody here who met him became attached to him, even if the meeting were brief. As I daresay you know, Harvard University gave him a degree. It was a well-deserved recognition of his accomplishments as a scholar, especially of his knowledge of Roman antiquities, and of the early languages which were the roots of our noble English tongue, and his great service to scholars in his wonderful French Dictionary. If you will kindly let us know whether a contribution will still be welcome, we shall regard it as a great privilege to be permitted to unite with his neighbors in that mark of respect to him.—I have the honor to be, with high regard, faithfully yours.—GEO. F. HOAR.”

[Other eloquent tributes to the character and learning of Mr. Bellows were paid by the vice-chairman, Mr. F. A. Hyett, the Rev. Canon Bazeley (Honorary Secretary of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society), Dr. C. Callaway of Cheltenham, President of the Cotteswold Field Club, Mr. — Ellis, Rev. Canon Scobell and other gentlemen.

The report says that the portrait was on every hand declared to be a good one. The artist was Mr. Percy Bigland.—*Committee of Publication.*]

INDEX.

A.

- Abbe, John, 432.
 Abbe, Nellie G., 404 n.
 Abbot, Moses, 208.
 Adams, Charles Francis, 83, 139 n., 140, 141, 159 n., 290 n. Re-elected Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, 109. His tribute to John Noble's paper on "Shays's Rebellion," with added facts as to the causes of the Rebellion, 114-120. Cited, 138, 139, 158, 159. His biography of his father and grandfather, 236.
 Adams, Charles Kendall, death of, announced, 129.
 Adams, John, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 241, 247, 256, 290, 309, 327 n. His tribute to John Hancock cited, 327. His Diary cited, 235, 236. His tribute to Roger Sherman, 245. Bronze tablet marking location of building where he taught school in Worcester, Mass., 290, *ib.* n.
 Adams, John Quincy, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 292 n., 309. References to his Diary, 117. *Ib.* cited, *ib.* n., 120.
 Adams, S. W., 393 n.
 Adams, Samuel, 309, 311, 325, 326.
 Aegina, *Greece*, result of excavations at, 54.
 Agassiz, Louis, tells of his visit to Laurenz Oken, 126.
 Ainsworth, Thomas, 443.
 Ainsworth, W. Harrison, 443.
 Alarie I., *King of the Visigoths*, 91.
 Alden, Timothy, 301.
 Alden Fund, 166, 169.
 Aldrich, P. Emory, circular written by, 348, 349.
 Alfred the Great, 5. "The King Alfred Millennial," paper by Edwin D. Mead, 70-97. Celebration of the millennial of his birth, 71, 72. Statue of, at Wantage, 73. Location of "Ethandune," 75. Scene of his retirement, 76. Description of jewel found at Athelney, 77. Site of battle at Ethandune, *ib.*, 78. Alfred literature, *ib.*, 79. Burial of, at Winchester, *ib.* Account of millennial observances in Winchester, 83-87. Works by, 90-93.
 Allen, John, *printer*, 18.
 Allen, Joseph, *Justice of the Peace*, 217, 219, 221.
 Allen, Rev. William, 314.
 Almanacs, interleaved, 294.
 American Antiquarian Society, shorthand books belonging to, 31. Greetings to, from the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, 127. List of Massachusetts election sermons in the Library of, 177. Circular accompanying Report of, Oct., 1821, 184, 185. Appeal issued in 1821 for continuing the Publication of Transactions and Collections of, 185, 186. Forward movement of the Society, *ib.* Call to organize the Society, 187. An account of some of the mss. in the possession of, in Report of the Council by Nathaniel Paine, 291-315. Manuscripts already printed, 291, 292. Mather mss., *ib.*, 293. Increase Mather mss., *ib.*, 294. Cotton Mather mss., *ib.*-296. Samuel Mather mss., *ib.*-298. Curwen papers, *ib.*, 299. Craigie papers, *ib.*, 300. Bentley papers, *ib.*, 301. Mss. relating to French and Indian wars, 301. Orderly books, *ib.*, 302. Volume of autograph letters mainly addressed to Aaron Burr, *ib.*-308. Mss. relating to Revolutionary history, *ib.*, 309. Miscellaneous autographs, *ib.*-312. Worcester military affairs, *ib.* Isaiah Thomas Diaries, *ib.* Lincoln papers, 313.

- Samuel Jennison biographies, *ib.*, 314. Miscellaneous mss., *ib.*, 315. Bottle of wine in possession of, 344, 345.
- American-Irish Historical Society, 181.
- Ames, Fisher, 309. Cited, 244.
- Ames, Rev. William, 17.
- Amherst, Sir Jeffrey, 309.
- Ammidown, Holmes, 318.
- Andrews, Ebeneser T., 187.
- Andros, Sir Edmund, 18, 156.
- Annual meeting of the Society, 107.
- Apostles creed, "Mary Griffin and her creed," paper by Egbert C. Smyth, 9-24.
- Aristotle, remarks by George F. Hoar before reading James Green's paper on "Aristotle's Musical Problems," 273. New edition of "Aristotle's Musical Problems," paper by James Green, 274-277.
- Armstrong, Samuel C., 265.
- Arnold, Benedict, 306.
- Arnold, Samuel G., 147 n., 148 n., 150 n.-155 n., 163 n.
- Arnold, Thomas, 265.
- Asserius, Johannes, *Bp.*, 76, 82. His story of King Alfred and the cakes cited, 95.
- Association of Boston Booksellers, Records of, 308.
- Athelney, *Isle of*, account of, cited, 75-78.
- Auditors, *see* Bullock, A. George and Hill, Benjamin T.
- Audubon, John J., 122.
- Augustinus, Aurelius, *Bp.*, 90, 91.
- Austen, Jane, home of, at Winchester, 81.
- Austin, Alfred, 74. His poem on "King Arthur" cited, 75.
- Austin, Benjamin, 297.
- Austin, Nathaniel, 203.
- Autographs, miscellaneous collection of, 309-312.
- Avebury, *Lord*, 86.
- Avery, John, *Secretary*, 226.
- Axon, W. E. A., 444.
- B.
- Babcock, Elisha, 343.
- Babcock, Sidney, 343.
- Bacon, Leonard, 146 n. Cited, 146.
- Baldwin, Abraham, 256.
- Baldwin, Christopher C., 27, 288, 297. His letter of Nov. 26, 1831, 25. *Ms. Diary* of, in possession of the Society, 292, *ib. n.* His "Diary" cited, 344.
- Baldwin, Loammi, 437.
- Baldwin, Simeon E., 154 n. His "Three Constitutions of Connecticut," 143.
- Bancroft, Rev. Aaron, 185, 187.
- Bancroft, Hon. George, 240, 292 n., 339 n. His "History of the Formation of the Federal Constitution," 116. *Ib.* cited, 116 n., 117 n.
- Bancroft, John, *Bp.*, 2.
- Bangs, Edward D., 185, 187.
- Bank notes, first issue of, 353.
- Banking, "Fund at Boston in New England," paper by Andrew McF. Davis, 368-383. Appendix, *ib.*, 384.
- Barlow, Joel, 432.
- Barlow, Stephen D., 36.
- Barnard, Joshua, 222.
- "Barnet," *steamboat*, account of trip up the Connecticut River in, 424-426.
- Barrett, Nathan, 208.
- Bartol, Mrs. George M., 317.
- Barton, Edmund M., 3, 10, 30, 107, 271. Presents his Reports as Librarian, 25-37, 173-187, 341-353.
- Barton, John, Jr., 213-215, 217, 218, 222.
- Bartow, Andrew A., 434.
- Baxter, James Phinney, re-elected a Councillor, 109.
- Baxter, Richard, cited, 24.
- Bazeley, Rev. Canon, 451.
- Beach, George, 436.
- Beale, Charles C., his paper "The Cummings shorthand books," cited, 31, 32.
- Beda, or Bede *Venerabilis*, 90, 92.
- Bedford, Gunning, 256.
- Beecher, Rev. Lyman, 145, 146.
- Beethoven, Ludwig von, 276.
- Belknap, Jeremy, 301.
- Belknap, R., 345.
- Bellows, John, 278, 283, 285, 444. Death of, announced, 129. Tribute to, by George F. Hoar, 279. Account of visit to family of, by Samuel S. Green, 283-285. Letter to, from Leslie Stephen, 447. Account of unveiling of portrait of, 448-451.

- Bellows, *Mrs. John*, account of visit to the home of, by Samuel S. Green, 283-285.
 Bemis, Merrick, 179.
 Bentley, *Rev. William*, receipt for portrait of, 33. Short account of his legacy to the Society, 300, 301.
 Bentley papers, *see* Bentley, *Rev. William*.
 Berkeley, George, *Bp.*, 162.
 Berlioz, Hector, 86.
 Besant, *Sir Walter*, 78, 86. Cited, 79, 80, 89, 97. His tribute to King Alfred cited, 70. Death of, 83.
 Bickerstaff, Isaac, 312.
 Biddle, *Col. Clement*, 303.
 Biddle, James, 305.
 Bigelow, *Rev. Andrew*, 318.
 Bigelow, Timothy, 187.
 Bigelow, *Col. Timothy*, reference to his declining years spent in jail, 120, 121.
 Bigg, George, *printer*, 29.
 Bigland, Percy, 451.
 Billings, Sylvanus, his letter "to the good people of boylston," 212, 213.
 Bingham, Caleb, 308.
 Biographer of the Society, appointment of, 7, 272.
 Bird, Francis W., 319.
 Blacker, Francis W., account of "Poetical Geography" presented by, 349-351.
 Blackwell, John, 382, 383.
 Blaine, *Hon. James G.*, 265.
 Blake, Francis, 187.
 Blake, William, 179.
 Blanchard, Thomas, 426.
 "Blanchard," *steamboat*, report of her first trip to Hartford, 426, 427.
 Block, Adriaen, 385 n., 389. Discovery of Connecticut River, attributed to, 385. Account of discovery, *ib.*, 386.
 Boethius, Anicius M. T. S., 79, 92. His "Consolations of Philosophy," 90. *ib.* cited, 92, 93. English version of his "True Greatness," *ib.*, 94.
 Bohemian Club, *San Francisco*, Costanzo's map in possession of, 28. Account of an "Historical Journal" in, 29.
 Bolingbroke, Henry St. John, *Viscount*, 183.
 Bonner, John, 175.
 Bookbinding Fund, 166, 168.
 "Books and Bookman" cited, 445.
 Borgeaud, Charles, 132 n., 133 n., 134 n. Cited, 132, 133.
 Boston Athenæum, 103.
 Bourinot, *Sir John G.*, death of, announced, 129.
 Bourne, Edward G., elected a member, 272.
 Boutell, Louis H., 246.
 Bowditch, Charles P., 285. His Report as delegate to the Société Internationale des Américanistes, 286.
 Bowdoin, *Gov. James*, 223, 224, 230, 312.
 Bowker, Alfred, *Mayor of Winchester*, 90. Edits "Alfred the Great," 78. His interest in Alfred the Great, 80.
 Bowles, Samuel, 349.
 Bowles, William, 207.
 Boyle, John, 308.
 Boyle, Robert, 342.
 Boylston, *Mass.*, letter to the people of, from Sylvanus Billings, 212, 213.
 Bradford, Alden, 292 n.
 Bradford, George, 58.
 Bradford, *Gov. William*, 103, 130, 387 n. His "History of Plymouth Plantation" cited, 142, *ib.* n.
 Bradford, *Mass.*, 17. Records of Baptisms of First Church of Christ cited, 9, 10, 19. Ordination of Zechariah Symmes at, 11.
 Bradstreet papers, 301.
 Braintree, *Mass.*, records of, 118, *ib.* n.
 Brassey, *Lord*, 86.
 Brattle, Thomas, 336. Short account of, 337, 338.
 Brattle, William, 337. Short account of, 337 n.
 Brewster, Ebenezer, 414.
 Brewster, William, autographs of, 5. Different ways of spelling Brewster, *ib.* "Brewster autograph in Wisconsin," paper by James D. Butler, 103-106.
 Briggs, Cornelius, 384.
 Bringham, Artemas, 207.
 Brock, *Rev. John*, 11.
 Brockwell, *Rev. Charles*, 290.
 Brodhead, John R., 385 n.
 Brooking, John, 372, 375.
 Brooks, Eleaser, 332 n.

- Brown, A. E., 326.
 Browne, John, 157.
 Browne, Samuel, 157.
 Browne, Sir Thomas, 277. Remarks by George F. Hoar expressing his unwillingness to believe "Fragments on Mummies" was not written by, 277, 278. "Fragment on Mummies" from a copy in the handwriting of J. Crossley, 279-283. "Did Sir Thomas Browne write 'Fragment on Mummies,'" paper by Samuel S. Green, 442-447.
 Brownson, Orestes A., 58.
 Bruce, Capt. Charles, 320.
 Bruce, Elvira, *see* Henry, Mrs. John.
 Bryce, James, 141.
 Buck, J. H., his description of the Winthrop tankard, 173, 174.
 Buell, Abel, *engraver*, 395 n.
 Bullen, Arthur H., his sketch of Sir Thomas Browne cited, 442, 443.
 Bullinger, Heinrich, catechism by, 13.
 Bullock, A. George, re-elected an auditor, 110. Certificate as auditor, 171.
 Bullock, Hon. Alexander H., 317, 332.
 Bureau of American Ethnology, 290, 351.
 Burk, Elizabeth, 299.
 Burk, Major John, 301.
 Burke, Edmund, 14.
 Burnham, Collins G., 404 n., 411 n., 427 n.
 Burnside, Samuel M., 185, 187.
 Burr, Aaron, brief account of volume of letters mainly addressed to, in Library of the Society, 302-308.
 Burr, Mrs. Aaron (Mrs. Theodosia Prevost), letter to, from George Washington, 307. Marriage certificate of, *ib*.
 Burr, Theodosia (Mrs. Alston), her note, 303.
 Burrill, Ebenezer, 311.
 Butler, James D., 5. His gift to the Society, 27. His letter cited, 346. Paper by, on "Brewster autograph in Wisconsin," 103-106.
 Butler, Joseph, *Bishop*, birthplace of, 74.
 Butler, Gen. William, 247.
 Byles, Rev. Mather, 290.
 C.
 Cabell, Col. William, 319.
 Caldwell, John, 398.
 Calef, Robert, 295.
 Calhoun, Hon. John C., 307.
 Callaway, C., 451.
 Calvin, John, 12.
 Cambridge Platform, 293.
 Canals, *see* Connecticut River, Navigation of.
 Caner, Rev. Henry, 290.
 Canfield, Mrs. Penelope L., her gift to the Society, 32.
 Canfield, Philemon, 435.
 Capen, Josiah, 208.
 Carleton, Sir Guy, 309.
 Carleton, Gen. Thomas, 329.
 Carroll, Charles, 309.
 Cartwright, Thomas, his "Harmonia Evangelica," 103.
 Cass, Lewis, 292 n.
 Chalmers, George, 155.
 Chamberlain, Alexander F., elected a member, 110. His gift to the Society, 179.
 Chamberlain, Jacob, *et al.*, case of the Commonwealth against, cited, 206, 207.
 Chamberlain, Mellen, cited, 133, 140, 141.
 Champney, Jonathan, 207.
 Chandler Fund, 166, 169, 181.
 Channing, Edward, cited, 141.
 Channing, William E., 162.
 Channing, William E., *the younger*, 59, 62.
 Charles I. of England, 132.
 Charles II. of England, 279.
 Charlevoix, Pierre F. X. de, his "Histoire de la Nouvelle France," 30, 31.
 Chase, Charles A., 6, 128, 266, 286. Appointed *cum al.* to represent the Society at Dr. Hale's 80th anniversary, 7. Re-elected Recording Secretary, 109. Re-elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 110. Remarks by, on Shays's Rebellion, 112, 131. Speaks of Col. Timothy Bigelow's being in jail, 120, 121. With William B. Weeden presents Report of the Council, 129. His tribute to J. Evarts Greene, 263, 264.

- Chauncey, Charles, 11.
 Chelan, Lake, "Painted rocks of," paper by William D. Lyman, 259-261.
 Childs, Edwin O., 384.
 Choate, Joseph H., 79.
 Clark, John M., 349.
 Clark, Victorianus, his "Rhyming Geography," 349.
 Clark, William, 203.
 Clarke, James Freeman, 19.
 Clarke, John, 151-153, 155.
 Clemens, Samuel L. (Mark Twain), 448.
 Clifford, *Bishop*, 75, 77.
 Clinton, *Gov. DeWitt*, 437.
 Clinton, *Gen. George*, 308, 309.
 Clough, William, 372.
 "Club of Odd Volumes," 182.
 Visit of members of, to the Library of the Society, 342.
 Cobb, William H., 10.
 Coddington, William, 150.
 "Codex Nuttall," presented to the Society, 33.
 Coffin, Joshua, 17 n.
 Coke, *Sir Edward*, 163.
 Colden, Cadwallader D., 416 n.
 Collection and Research Fund, 166, 167.
 Collis, Christopher, 407.
 Colman, *Rev. Benjamin*, 289, *ib. n.*
 Colonel Timothy Bigelow Chapter D. A. R., bronze tablet placed by, 290, *ib. n.*
 Colonial Dames of Rhode Island, work done by, 128.
 Colton, Alpheus, 203.
 Columbia University, condition of College of Physicians and Surgeons of, seventy-five years ago, 124, 125.
 Connecticut, "Three Commonwealths, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, their early development," paper by William B. Weedon, 130-164. Various spelling of the word Connecticut, 387, *ib. n.*, 388. "Connecticut Compromise. Roger Sherman the author of the plan of equal representation of the States in the Senate, and proportionate representation in the House," paper by George F. Hoar, 233-258.
 Connecticut River, Navigation of, paper by William DeLoos Love, 385-432. Bibliography, 433-441
 "Connecticut Courant," Nov. 10, 1818, cited, 417.
 Constant, Silas, Journal of, 351.
 Constitutional convention of 1787 The Connecticut Compromise, paper by George F. Hoar, 233-258.
 Convers, Benjamin, 210.
 Converse, Abiah, 203.
 Cooley, Ariel, 409.
 Cooper, *Rev. William*, 309.
 Copley, John S., 289, 290.
 Copp, John, references to map made by, 396, *ib. n.*
 Corwin, or Curwin, George, 289, 299.
 Corwin, Samuel, short account of, 299.
 Costanzo, Miguel, blue print of his map presented to the Society, 28.
 Facts relating to Diary of, 29, 30.
 Cotton, *Rev. John*, 132, 136, 158, 159, 161, 162, 295, 309. Cited, 14 n., 159 n.
 Council of the Society, semi-annual report of, 7, 8. Annual report of, 129. Appropriates the sum of \$1,000 for the "production of a comprehensive guide to the material for American history in public repositories in London, especially to manuscript material," 165. Special meetings of, on the deaths of J. Evarts Greene, and John D. Washburn, 263-269. Semi-annual report of, giving an account of some of the manuscripts in the possession of the Society, by Nathaniel Paine, 287-315.
 Councillors, election of, 109.
 Cowley, Robert, 383.
 Cozens, Issacher, Jr., remarks by Samuel S. Green on letter to, 122. Letter to, 123-125.
 Cozens, Mrs. Issacher, Jr., 122.
 Craigie, Andrew, brief account of mss. belonging to, in Library of Society, 299, 300.
 Crittenden, Ebenezer, 225, 229.
 Croker, Richard, 74.
 Crompton, Samuel, communication by, relative to who wrote "Fragment on Mummies," cited, 444, 445.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 12, 85, 111
 Crossley, James, "Fragment on Mummies," from a copy in the

- handwriting of, 279-283. Further proofs that "Fragment on Mummies" was written by, 442-447.
- Croesman, *Capt.*, 180.
- Cummings, Herbert R., collection of shorthand works made by, 32.
- Curtis, George William, 58, 59, 65, 67.
- Curwen, Jonathan, 299.
- Curwen papers, brief account of, 298-299.
- Curwen, *see* Corwin.
- Cushing, Thomas, 272, 297, 311. "Some letters, etc., of John Hancock and," paper by Allen C. Thomas, 324-340.
- Cutler, *Rev. Timothy*, 289.
- Cutter, Samuel, 208.
- Cuttyhunk, Gosnold at, paper by Edward E. Hale, 98-102.
- D.
- Dana, *Dr.*, 123, 124.
- Dandridge, Dorothea S. (Mrs. Patrick Henry), 319.
- Danforth, Thomas, 384.
- Daniels, George F., 106.
- Darc, Jeanne, 89.
- Dartmouth, *Lord*, *see* Legge, William.
- Davenport, *Rev. John*, 299.
- Davey, E. C., 74.
- Davie, (Davy), *Gov. William R.*, 256.
- Davis, Andrew McF., 27, 120, 277. Paper by, on "The Fund at Boston in New England," 368-383. Appendix, *ib.*, 384.
- Davis, *Hon. Daniel*, 332 n.
- Davis, Edward H., 318.
- Davis, Edward L., 269. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. His gift to the Society, 346.
- Davis, Eleaser, 208.
- Davis, Horace, his letter accompanying gift of letters of Gov. John Davis and his wife, 27.
- Davis, *Hon. Isaac*, 318.
- Davis, *Gov. John*, 27, 292 n., 302, 308 n., 345.
- Davis, *Mrs. John (Eliza)*, 27. Brief account of volume of autographs presented to the Society by, 302-308.
- Davis, John C. Bancroft, 27, 348.
- Davis, Matthew L., 302.
- Davis Book Fund, Isaac and Edward L., 166, 168.
- Davis Fund, John and Elisa, 166, 170, 181.
- Davy, *see* Davie.
- Dawes, Thomas, 202, 208.
- Dawes, Thomas, *Jr.*, 214, 215.
- Day, Elijah, 209.
- Day, Luke, 223, 225, 228, 229, 231. Indictment of, for high treason, 208. Records in minute book of Hampshire relating to, cited, 209, 210.
- Dean, Silas, 395.
- Deane, Charles, cited, 25.
- De Laet, John, 385 n.
- Deming, Thomas, 392.
- Denny, Charles A., 341.
- Denslow, Samuel, 427.
- Devens, Charles, 121 n.
- DeVisme, Peter, 307.
- DeVries, *see* Vries, David P. de.
- D'Ewes, *Sir Simonds*, cited, 156.
- Dewey, *Mrs. Francis H.*, her gift to the Society, 179.
- Dewey, T. M., 404 n., 411 n., 416 n.
- Dewey Fund, 166, 170.
- Dewing, Francis, 175.
- De Wolf, William F., his "Recollections of Public Men" cited, 183.
- Dexter, Franklin B., 5. Re-elected Secretary of Foreign Correspondence, 109.
- Dexter, Henry M., 104, 105.
- Dexter, Ichabod, 210.
- Dickens, Charles, 308 n. His autograph with lines from Pickwick Papers in Library of the Society, 307, 308. His "American notes" cited, 428.
- Dickinson, John, 233, 253.
- Dickson, *Mrs. W. H.*, 343.
- Disraeli, Isaac, 103.
- Dix, Elijah, 315. Deposition of, 218, 219.
- Dodge, Benjamin J., 36.
- Donne, John, *Dean of St. Paul's*, 2.
- Downing, *Sir George*, 388.
- Doyle, John A., 15 n., 139 n., 159 n., 160.
- Doyle, John T., 318. His letter accompanying his gift, 28, 29. Note by, on the early exploration of Upper California, 29, 30. His gift to the Society, 347, 348.
- Drake, *Sir Francis*, 102.
- Drake, Samuel G., 292 n.

Dryden, John, 183.
 Ducie, *Earlof*, see Moreton, Henry J.
 Dudley, Gov. Joseph, 136.
 Dudley, Paul, *Chief Justice*, 299.
 Dudley, Robert, location and name of Connecticut River on map by, 387, 388.
 Dudley, William, 311.
 Duer, William A., 416 n.
 Dunham, David, 225, 226, 229.
 Duniway, Clyde A., 29.
 Durfee, Judge Job, 150 n. Cited, 152.
 Durfee, Thomas, 147, *ib. n.*, 150 n., 152 n., 153 n.
 Dwight, Edmund, 187.
 Dwight, Jonathan, 407.
 Dwight, Rev. Timothy, 306, 413.
 His "Travels," 409, 411 n., 412 n., 413 n. *Ib.* cited, 410, 411.
 Dyer, Mrs. Mary, 160.

E.

Eames, Wilberforce 10, 18. Cited, 15, 16, *ib. n.*
 Earle, Mrs. Alice Morse, her gift to the Society, 32.
 Earle, John, 78, 90. Cited, 94.
 Eckley, Rev. Joseph, 309.
 Edes, Henry H., 370 n.
 Edgar, of England, 78.
 Edmund, of England, 78.
 Edred, *Saxon King of England*, 78.
 Edward, *the Confessor*, 78.
 Edwards, Capt., 298.
 Eggleston, Edward, death of, announced, 129.
 Eliot, John, *apostle to the Indians*, 15, 21 n., 24, 129, 299.
 Eliot, William G., Jr., deed of manumission given by, 180, 181.
 Elizabeth, *Queen of England*, 98.
 Elliot, Andrew, 21 n.
 Elliott, Walter, cited, 60.
 Ellis Fund, 166, 170.
 Ellsworth, Oliver, *Chief Justice*, 233, 234, 236. Relation of, to the Connecticut Compromise, 239-257.
 Elmsley, P., 29.
 Emancipation, deed of, 180, 181.
 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 65, 66, 278, 445, 446. Cited, 442.
 Endicott, Gov. John, 136, 157.

Engraving, origin of steel engraving, 352.
 Ernst, Carl W., his letters, 175-177, 352, 353.
 "Ethandune," location of, 75.
 Evarts, Hon. William M., 244.
 Everett, Hon. Edward, 288, 292 n.
 "Experiment," *steamboat*, account of building of, 417.

F.

Faneuil, Peter, 176.
 Felton, Archelaus, 208.
 Fenwick, George, 391, 392.
 Fiennes, William, *Lord Saye and Sele*, 136.
 Fisher, George P., 14 n.
 Fisk, Oliver, 287.
 Fiske, John, 5, 79. Death of, 83.
 Fiske, Willard, his gift to the Society, 32.
 Fitch, John, 396.
 Flagg, Col., 221.
 Flagg, Samuel, his deposition, 216, 217.
 Flint, Edward, 312.
 Foote, Henry W., 175. His "Annals of King's Chapel," 18 n.
 Force, Peter, his "American Archives," 328 n., 329.
 Ford, Capt. John, 224.
 Ford, Paul Leicester, 15. His "New England Primer," *ib. n.* Cited, 21 n.
 Foster, Bossenger, 300.
 Foster, Mrs. Bossenger, 300.
 Foster, Dwight, 348.
 Foster, William E., 108, 152 n., 154 n., 175.
 Fowle, William B., 300, 309.
 Fox, Jacob, 225, 229.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 161, 234, 235, 241, 244, 252, 256, 258. Cited, 236.
 Freeman, Edward A., 75. His tribute to King Alfred cited, 88.
 Freeman, John C., 83.
 French and Indian Wars, manuscripts relating to, in the Library of the Society, 301.
 Frink, Dr. John, 216.
 Frink, Jonathan, 218.
 Fuller, Mrs. Henry H., 317.
 "Fund at Boston in New England," paper by Andrew McF. Davis, 368-383. Appendix, *ib.*, 384.

G.

- Gage, Thomas, his "History of Rowley," 10 n. *Ib.* cited, 10.
 Gage, *Gen.* Thomas, 331, 337.
 Gale, Abraham, 112, 209.
 Gale, Henry, 203, 205, 231. Case of Commonwealth v. Gale et al., cited, 206, 207.
 Gallatin, Albert, 307.
 Gallup, Perez, 414.
 Galvez, Jose de, 29.
 Gardiner, Lion, cited, 390.
 Gardiner, Samuel R., cited, 111.
 Gardner, Percy, 55.
 Garver, Austin S., 4. Paper by, on "Greek Archaeology," 51-57.
 Gates, *Gen.* Horatio, 302, 305, 329.
 Gates, Silas, 208.
 Gatschet, Albert S., 129. Elected a member, 110.
 Gay, Sidney H., 318.
 Geddes, Jenny, 19.
 Gerry, *Gov.* Elbridge, 247, 256, 257, 306, 339 n.
 Gervinus, Georg, 164 n.
 Gesenius, Friedrich H. W., 103.
 Gevaert, Francois Auguste, his connection with publication of "Aristotle's Musical Problems," 274-276.
 Gibbon, Edward, 88.
 Gibbons, Miss Agnes, 74.
 Gilbert, Edward H., 108.
 Gilchrist, Alexander, 179.
 Giles, John A., 72, 88.
 Gilman, Daniel C., 4.
 Givers and Gifts, lists of, 38-50, 187-199, 354-367.
 "Gloucester Journal," account of unveiling of portrait of John Bellows, cited, 448-451.
 Glück, Christoph, 276.
 Gomez, Estévan, 385.
 Goodell, Abner C., Jr., 138.
 Goodsell, P. B., *printer*, 434.
 Goodwin, John A., 349.
 Gookin, Daniel, Jr., ms. poem by, on death of Urian Oakes, in Library of the Society, 314.
 Gordon, Fanny, 6.
 Gore, Christopher, 202, 208.
 Gorham, John, 124.
 Gorton, Samuel, 162.
 Gosnold, Bartholomew, 5. "Gosnold at Cuttyhunk," paper by Edward E. Hale, 98-102.
 Gray, Horace, death of, announced, 129.
 "Greek Archaeology," paper by Austin S. Garver, 51-57.
 Green, Benjamin, *printer*, 345.
 Green, James, remarks on his paper by George F. Hoar, 273. Paper by, on "Aristotle's Musical Problems," 274-277. Vote of thanks to, 285.
 Green, John, b. 1763, 315.
 Green, John, 273. Of committee to nominate officers of the Society, 108. Speaks of the business side of medical teaching seventy-five years ago, 125-127.
 Green, John R., 75. His "History of the English People" cited, 88, 97.
 Green, Samuel, *printer*, 293.
 Green, Samuel A., 176. Of committee to nominate officers for the Society, 108. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. Speaks of the Shays monument, 114. Remarks on presenting to the Society, "Life of Washington," by Charles W. Upham, 121, 122. His gift to the Society, 346, 347.
 Green, Samuel S., 181, 182, 273, 277, 278, 300, 314. Remarks by, on Librarians' Convention of 1853, 3, 4. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. Remarks by, before reading letter written to Issacher Cozzens, Jr., in 1827, 122-125. His tribute to J. Evarts Greene, 264-266. Describes his visit to John Bellows's family, 283-285. Paper by, on "Did Sir Thomas Browne write 'Fragment on Mummies,'" 442-447.
 Greene, J. Evarts, appointed biographer, 7. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. Obituary of Michael C. O'Brien by, 321-323. Special meeting of the Council on death of, with tributes from Stephen Salisbury, Charles A. Chase and Samuel S. Green, 263-266.
 Greene, Nathanael, 163, 306.
 Greene, Richard W., 317.
 Greene, Mrs. Richard W. (Edith Washburn), 317.
 Greene, Thomas, 311.
 Greene, *Gov.* William, draft of letter to, from John Hancock, 336, 337.
 Greenhill, Dr., 445.

- Greenland, manuscript of "A short discourse of a Voyage to," 292.
 Greenleaf, William, 315. His speech to the insurgents, 113.
 Gregory I., 90, 91, 94.
 Griffin, Gen. Charles, 351.
 Griffin, John, 9.
 Griffin, Mary, 1, 2. "Mary Griffin and her Creed," paper by Egbert C. Smyth, 9-24.
 Grosvenor, Edwin A., extends the greetings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal to the American Antiquarian Society, 127.
 Grotius, Hugo, 14, *ib. n.*
- H.
- Habersham, Jos., 308.
 Hale, Edward E., 3, 5, 21 *n.*, 111, 114, 128, 174, 187, 288, 290-292. Tribute to, 4. Refers to anniversary of landing of Gosnold at Cuttyhunk, 5. Inquiry regarding officer who surrendered the Chesapeake, 6. Celebration of his eightieth birthday, 7. His gift to the Society, 30. Paper by, on "Gosnold at Cuttyhunk," 98-102. Re-elected a Vice-President, 109. Re-elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 110. Inquires for missing volume of Washington's Diary, 122.
 Hale, Rev. John, 11.
 Hale, Nathan, 4.
 Hall, G. Stanley, 290 *n.* Re-elected a Councillor, 109.
 Hall, Lyman, 332.
 Hall, Percival, *Justice of the Peace*, 220, 221.
 Hall, Samuel, 308.
 Hamilton, Alexander, 244.
 Hamilton, Moses, *innkeeper*, 216-219, 221, 222.
 Hamlin, Perez, 225, 226, 229.
 Hammond, Elijah, 187.
 Hancock, Mrs. Dorothy (Quincy), 326.
 Hancock, Gov. John, 205, 209, 272. Proclamation issued by, 224-226. His Message cited, 231, 232. "Some letters, etc., of, and Thomas Cushing," paper by Allen C. Thomas, 324-340.
 Händel, Georg F., 276.
 Hardy, Manley, his book-plate, 342.
 Hardy, Thomas, 79.
 Harlow, William T., his gift to the Society, 34.
 Harris, Benjamin, *printer*, 18, 21.
 Harris, John, *engraver*, 176.
 Harris, Rev. Thaddeus M., 187, 292 *n.*, 301.
 Harrison, Benjamin, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 318.
 Harrison, Frederic, 78-80. Takes John Fiske's place at the King Alfred millennial celebration, 83. Delivers his address on King Alfred, 84. Cited, 87, 96, 97.
 Hartford, Conn., seal of, 398.
 Hartland, E. Sidney, 448. His remarks at unveiling of portrait of John Bellows, 449, 450.
 Hartlib, Samuel, 353.
 Harvard University, condition of Medical School of, seventy-five years ago, 123-126.
 Haskell, Capt., 417.
 Haven, Samuel F., 288, 292, 296, 300, 318, 344. His report cited, 33.
 Haven Fund, 166, 169.
 Havens, Daniel, 418 *n.*
 Hawkins, Sir John, 102.
 Hayden, Jabez H., 404 *n.*, 426 *n.*, 427 *n.*, 432 *n.*
 Hayne, Robert Y., 244.
 Haynes, George H., his letter to Charles A. Chase, 113 *n.*, 114 *n.*
 Hazard, Ebenezer, 308.
 Hazelton, Simeon, 210.
 Hazewell, Charles C., 278.
 Healey, Bishop, 323.
 Heath, Gen. William, 306, 307.
 Hecker, Isaac T., 5. "A bit of unpublished correspondence between Henry D. Thoreau and" paper by E. Harlow Russell, 58-69.
 Henchman, Daniel, 345, 353, 372, 375.
 Henderson, Daniel, 210.
 Henderson, Joseph, 336.
 Henry VII. of England, 77.
 Henry, John, 319.
 Henry, Mrs. John (Elvira Bruce), 319.
 Henry, Patrick, 319, 320. His tribute to Roger Sherman cited, 244, 245.
 Henry, William Wirt, 245. Obituary of, by Lyon G. Tyler, 319-321.

- Henry, Mrs. William Wirt (Lucy G. Marshall), 321.
 Henshaw, Miss Harriet E., 341.
 Henshaw, Joshua, 297.
 Henshaw, Col. William, his orderly books, 301, 302, 341.
 Herbert, George, his poem "Divinitie" cited, 2, 3.
 Herwerden, Hendrik van, 276.
 Heylyn, Peter, 388.
 Higginson, Francis, 11.
 Higginson, Rev. John, 11.
 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 83, 84.
 Hill, Rev. Alonzo, 318.
 Hill, Benjamin T., 277. Re-elected an Auditor, 110. Certificate as Auditor, 172. Reference to his copy of the Isaiah Thomas Diaries, 312.
 Hillhouse, James, 437.
 Hinds, Timothy, 203.
 Hinkley, Samuel, 437.
 Hitchcock, Henry, death of, 8.
 Hoadly, Charles J., 396.
 Hoar, George F., 30, 127, 283-285, 290 n., 317, 442, 444. Remarks on creeds, 2. Reads poem, *ib.*, 3. Letter to, from Daniel Murray, 33, 34. Expresses his satisfaction in William B. Weedon's paper, 107, 108. Re-elected a Vice-President, 109. Speaks of Col. Timothy Bigelow, 121. His letter accompanying gift to the Society, 178. Inscription by, on tablet in memory of Henry Wilson, *ib.*, 179. Paper by, on the "Connecticut Compromise," 233-258. Remarks by, before reading James Green's paper, on "Aristotle's Musical Problems," 273. Tribute to John Bellows by, 279. Expresses his unwillingness to believe Sir Thomas Browne did not write "Fragment on Mummies," 277, 278. His letter of July 18, 1902, 450, 451.
 Hoar, Samuel, 208.
 Hobbes, Thomas, 14, *ib.* n.
 Holland, Josiah G., his "History of Western Massachusetts," 411 n.
 Hollis, Thomas, 290.
 Holman, Jonathan, 210.
 Holmes, Abiel, 287.
 Holmes, Amanda, deed to, 35, 36. Copy of deed of manumission to, 180, 181.
 Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 448.
 Holmes, William, 180. Deed of sale of, 35, 36.
 Holmes, Capt. William, 389.
 Hooker, Richard, 14, *ib.* n.
 Hooker, Thomas, 111, 112, 142-144, *ib.* n., 147, 159, 161, 163.
 Hopkins, Stephen, 163.
 Houblon, Archer, 74.
 Houston, John, 332.
 How, Nathan, his Commission, 34.
 Howe, Fisher, 10, 16 n.
 Howe, Henry, 245.
 Howe, Heseekiah, 439.
 Howes, Edward, 390.
 Howes, Samuel, 297.
 Hubbard, Jonathan, 216.
 Hubbard, Rev. William, 11, 158.
 Hughes, Thomas, 72, 88. Cited, 96.
 Hugo, Thomas, 77.
 Hull, John, his shorthand manuscripts, 31. His Diary, 291.
 Hunnewell, James F., his "Triumphs of Early Printing," 182.
 Hunt, Thomas, 372, 375.
 Hunter, Maj.-Gen. David, 309.
 Hurd, Jarvis, 423, 435, 436, 438.
 Hutchinson, Aaron, 414.
 Hutchinson, Mrs. Anne, 160.
 Hutchinson, Holmes, 435.
 Hutchinson, Gov. Thomas, 292 n., 298 n., 299, 391 n.
 Hyett, F. A., 448, 451.
- I.
- Ide, Simeon, 439.
 International Press Clubs, 182.
 Ireton, Henry, 112.
 Irving, Henry, 84.
 Iyenaga, Dr. Toyokichi, his "Constitutional Development in Japan," 131 n.
- J.
- Jackson, Andrew, Pres. of the U. S., 183.
 Jackson, William, 297.
 Jacobs, John, 207.
 James I. of England, 278.
 James, Eleazer, 187.
 Jameson, J. Franklin, 165.
 Jay, John, 330.
 Jefferson, Thomas, Pres. of the U. S., 245. His letter to Aaron Burr cited, 303.
 Jenkins, Lawrence W., 33.

- Jenks, Edwin F., 349.
 Jenks, *Rev. William*, 287, 292 n., 300.
 Jennings, Paul, 33, 34. Facts of his life, and account of his Diary, 5, 6.
 Jennison, Josiah, *et al.*, case of the Commonwealth against, 206, 207.
 Jennison, Samuel, 184, 185, 288, 291, 300. Manuscript biographies by, in Library of the Society, 313, 314.
 Jewett, Charles C., his plan for co-operative cataloguing, 4.
 Joan of Arc, *see* Darc, Jeanne.
 Johnson, Edward, 318.
 Johnson, Francis, 104, 105.
 Johnson, Col. Guy, 331.
 Johnson, Samuel, 448.
 Johnston, Henry P., 138.
 Jones, Noble W., 332.
- K.
- Keayne, Robert, suit brought against, by Mrs. Sherman, 187.
 Keble, John, 14 n., 81.
 Kendall, Thomas, 106.
 Kendall, *Rev. Thomas*, 106.
 Kepler, Johannes, 161.
 Kimball, *Rev. Daniel*, 317.
 Kimball, Henry C., 317.
 Kimball, Joseph, 413.
 King, Rufus, 247.
 Kingsbury, J. D., 11 n.
 Kingsbury, Josiah, 213-215, 217, 218, 222.
 Kingston, John, 27.
 Kirkland, John T., 187.
 Knapp, Aaron, 203.
 Knight, Samuel, *Justice of the Peace*, 222.
 Kohl, Johann G., manuscript copy of his "Asia and America," in the Library of the Society, 309.
 Koran, manuscript copy of, 291.
- L
- Lamb, Reuben, 210, 216-218, 221, 222. Case of Young v. Lamb cited, 213-215. Depositions relating to, 216-219.
 Langdon, Samuel, 308.
 Lansing, John, 254, 255.
 Laud, William, *Abp.*, 2.
 Leach, Smith S., 440.
 Leake, William M., 55.
 Lechford, Thomas, shorthand notes by, 31. Manuscript Note Book by, in Library of the Society, 292.
 Lee, *Maj.-Gen. Charles*, 306, 310. His letter to Gen. Wooster, 305.
 Lee, Richard H., 245.
 Legge, William, *2d Earl of Dartmouth*, cited, 331.
 Leo, Heinrich, 14 n.
 Librarian's and General Fund, 166, 167.
 Librarians' Convention, 1853, 3, 4.
 Library Clearing House, establishing of, 173.
 "Library Journal" cited, 37.
 Library of the Society, sources of gifts to, 26, 177, 178, 345, 346. Material in, relating to the Philippine Islands, 178. Oil portraits in, cleaned and renovated, 288. Lack of room in newspaper department of, 289. Improvements in, 341.
 Life Membership Fund, 166, 170.
 Lincoln, Abraham, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 309.
 Lincoln, *Gen. Benjamin*, 216, 221, 223, 306.
 Lincoln, *Gov. Enoch*, 313.
 Lincoln, *Gov. Levi*, 187, 292 n., 313. Tribute to, 183.
 Lincoln, *Hon. Levi*, 183, 187, 202, 207, 313.
 Lincoln, Solomon, 128.
 Lincoln, Waldo, his note accompanying his gift cited, 348.
 Lincoln, William, 120, 288, 345. His "History of Worcester" cited, 112, 113. Manuscript material collected by, 313.
 Lincoln Legacy Fund, 166, 168.
 Lincoln manuscripts in the Library of the Society, 313.
 Linehan, John C., 181.
 Livingston, Edward, 306.
 Livingston (Leaventon), William, 305.
 Locke, John, 14.
 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 236, 237, 327 n. His address on Oliver Ellsworth, 233, 234. Letter to, from George F. Hoar, 239, 246. His answer to *ib.*, 246, 247. Second letter to, from George F. Hoar, 247, 248.
 Lodge, Thomas, 104.
 Loftie, William J., 79.

Lombard, Charles P., 83.
 Longfellow, Henry W., 300.
 Love, William DeLosa, 277. Paper by, on "The Navigation of the Connecticut River," 385-432. Bibliography, 433-441.
 Lovel, Mr., 304.
 Low, Nathanael, 312.
 Lowell, Abbott Lawrence, 14 n.
 Lowell, James Russell, 139. His "Among my Books" cited, 140.
 Lowell, John, 187.
 Luddington, Daniel, 203.
 Ludlow, Roger, cited, 135.
 Luther, Martin, 12.
 Lyman, Jonathan H., 187, 422.
 Lyman, William D., 128. Elected a member, 3. Paper by, on the "Painted rocks of Lake Chelan," 259-261.

M.

Maccarty, Rev. Thaddeus, table belonging to, 34.
 McClellan, Joseph, 104.
 McCloskey, Bishop John, 63.
 McClure, Robert J. Lemesurier, 288.
 McCulloch, Henry, 203, 205, 231.
 MacDonald, William, elected a member, 110.
 McDougal, Alexander, 306.
 McKinley, William, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 83, 84.
 McLachlan, Robert W., 127.
 McLean, Rev. Allen, 422.
 Madison, James, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 5, 6, 33, 240, 242, 247, 253, 256-258, 307. Madison Papers and Journals, 236, 239, 241, 251, 252, *ib. n.*
 Madison, Mrs. James, 6.
 Maloon, James, indictment against, 222-224.
 "Manchester Guardian" cited, 445-447.
 Manning, Eliash, 225, 226, 229.
 Manning, Dr. John, 333 n.
 Manning, William, 203.
 Marble, Malachi, 207.
 Markham, Sir Clements, 78. Cited, 91, 92.
 Marshall, Col. Gray P., 321.
 Marshall, John, 419. Cited, 133.
 Marshall, Lucy G. (Mrs. William Wirt Henry), 321.
 Martin, Gov. Josiah, 331.
 Martin, Luther, 253, 256.

Marvin, Abijah P., 294.
 Mason, George, 245, 256.
 Mason, John, 348.
 Massachusetts, conditions in, which led to Shays's Rebellion stated by Charles Francis Adams, 115-120. "Three Commonwealths, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, their early development," paper by William B. Weedon, 130-164. List of Mass. election sermons in the Library of the Society, 177. "A few notes on Shays rebellion," paper by John Noble, 290-232. List of Province Bills of, in Library of the Society, 310, 311.
 Massachusetts Colony Records, 136.
 "Massachusetts Gazette," 843.
 Massachusetts General Court, Messages to, 333-336.
 Massachusetts Historical Society, 302. Semi-Annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society at Hall of, 1. Proceedings of, cited, 177 n. Mather manuscript Diaries belonging to, 296.
 Massachusetts House Journal, 1782, extracts from, 332 n.-334 n.
 "Massachusetts Laws and Resolves" 1786-87, cited, 227-232.
 "Massachusetts Spy and American Oracle of Liberty," 314 n.
 Mather, Rev. Cotton, 2, 21, 22, 158, 292 n., 298 n., 345, 388. Cited, 162. Portrait of, in Library of the Society, 289 n. Partial list of manuscripts by, in the Library of the Society, 294-296.
 Mather, Rev. Increase, 292. Cited, 160, *ib. n.* Facts regarding portraits of, 345. Partial list of manuscripts by, in the Library of the Society, 298, 294.
 Mather, Increase, the younger, 298 n. His letter, 298.
 Mather, Rev. Richard, 293. List of manuscripts by, in the Library of the Society, 293.
 Mather, Rev. Samuel, 292, 298 n. Partial list of manuscripts by, in the Library of the Society, 296-298.
 Mather, Mrs. Samuel (Hannah Hutchinson), 298 n.
 May, David, 213-215, 217, 318, 222.
 Mead, Edwin D., 5. Paper by, on

- "The King Alfred Millennium," 70-97.
 Members, election of, 3, 110, 272.
 Names of those present at meetings, 1, 271.
 Merriman, Roger B., elected a member, 110.
 Metcalf, C., 308.
 Middleton, Arthur, 235.
 Mildmay, Lady, 174.
 Mills, Elijah H., 187.
 Milton, John, 2, 353.
 Minnesota Society of Colonial Wars, 182.
 Minot, George R., manuscript copy of his "History of the Insurrection," in the Library of the Society, 314.
 Mitchell, Alexander F., 10 n., 16 n., 18, *ib. n.*
 Moncrieffe, Margaret (Mrs. Coghlan), letter to, from Israel Putnam, 304, 305.
 Monroe, George H., 179.
 Monroe, James, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 307.
 Montgomery, Gen. Richard, 306, 307, 810.
 Moore, Thomas, 210, 216, 217, 219, 221, 222.
 Moore, William E., 23.
 Moorhead, Rev. John, 289 n.
 Moreton, Henry J., *Earl Ducie*, 279.
 Remarks by, at unveiling of portrait of John Bellows cited, 448, 449.
 Morey, Samuel, 416.
 Morgan, John, 398.
 Morris, Gouverneur, 243, 257, 258.
 Morris, Lewis R., 413.
 Morse, Anson D., elected a member, 272.
 Morton, Nathaniel, 348.
 Morton, Perez, 34.
 Mower, Hannah, 315.
 Mower, Thomas, 213-215.
 Mowers, John, 207.
 Mowers, Marble, 207.
 Mummies, remarks by George F. Hoar on "Fragment on Mummies," 277, 278. "Fragment on Mummies," from a copy in the handwriting of James Crossley, 279-283. "Did Sir Thomas Browne write 'Fragment on Mummies'?" paper by Samuel S. Green, 442-447.
 Munroe, Jonas, 208.
 Murchison, Sir Roderick I., 318.
 Murphy, Henry C., 390.
 Murray, Daniel, his gift to the Society, 5, 6. His letter to George F. Hoar, 33, 34.
 Murray, Seth, 212.
 Murray, Thomas H., 182.
 Myles, Samuel, 176.
 N.
 Napoleon I., *Emperor of the French*, 238.
 Napoleon III. (Louis Napoleon Bonaparte), 96.
 Nasro, John, his deposition cited, 217, 218.
 Nelson, Horatio, *1st Viscount*, cited, 238.
 Nelson, William, 343.
 Newbury, Roger, 404.
 Newman, Albert H., his "History of Baptist Churches" cited, 23.
 Newton, Rejoice, 184, 186, 288, 300. Letter to, from Christopher C. Baldwin, 25.
 Nichols, Charles L., 342. His gift to the Society, 348.
 Noble, John, 112, 113, 115, 116, 119, 120. Tribute to his paper, by Charles Francis Adams, 114. Paper by, on "A Few notes on the Shays rebellion," 200-232.
 Northam, Charles H., 419.
 Nourse, Henry S., 1, 3. Of committee to nominate officers of the Society, 109. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. Remarks on accepting position of biographer, 272. Obituary of John D. Washburn by, 316-319.
 Nowell, Samuel, 384.
 Noyes, Rev. James, 17 n. Account of his Catechism for children, 17.
 Noyes, Nicholas, 296.
 Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, extends its greetings to the American Antiquarian Society, 127.
 Nutt, Capt. Samuel, his poem cited, 430.
 Nuttall, Zelia, 33.
 O.
 Oakes, Rev. Urian, 314.
 O'Brien, Michael C., death of, 8. Obituary of, by J. Evarts Greene, 321-323.

- O'Callahan, Edmund B., 385 n.
 Officers of the Society, election of, 109, 110.
 Ogilby, John, reference to his "America," 388.
 Oken, Lorens, 126.
 Olcott, Mills, 414.
 Olin, William M., facts relating to case of William Prentice given by, 337 n.
 "Oliver Ellsworth," *steamboat*, 418, 419. Account of, 418 n.
 Oman, Charles, his "Alfred as a Warrior," 78.
 Onthank, William, 207.
 Orderly Books in the possession of the Society, 301, 302.
 Orosius, Paulus, 90-92.
 Osgood, I., *Justice of the Peace*, 217-219.
 Osgood, Samuel, 308.
 Otis, Hon. James, 326.
 Otis, Harrison G., 187.
 Otis, Hon. Samuel A., 228.
- P.
- Page, Benjamin, 228.
 Page, William, 413.
 Paine, Nathaniel, *sen.*, 187.
 Paine, Nathaniel, 107, 182, 269, 271, 292, 342. Appointed *cum al.* to represent the Society at Dr. Hale's 80th anniversary, 7. Re-elected Treasurer, 109. Re-elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 110. Submits his Report as Treasurer, 165-172. Services rendered the Society by, 179. Presents the semi-annual Report of the Council, giving an account of some of the manuscripts in the Library of the Society, 287-315. Cited, 344, 345.
 Paine, Robert Treat, 209, 211, 212, 224.
 Paine, William, 187, 287, 310.
 "Palatine Note Book," 446. Cited, 444, 445.
 Palfrey, John G., 134 n., 135, 136 n., 137 n., 155 n., 157 n., 158, 392 n. Cited, 136, 137.
 Pareus, David, his "Genesis Mosis," 104.
 Parker, Abner, chart made by, 395. Short sketch of, *ib.* n., 396 n.
 Parker, Ebenezer, 395 n.
 Parker, J. M., 418 n.
 Parker, Jacob L., 228.
 Parker, Joel, 139 n.
 Parker, Mary (Smith), 395 n.
 Parker, Oliver, case of the Commonwealth against, cited, 208.
 Parker, Rev. Thomas, 17.
 Parmenter, Charles O., his "History of Pelham," 114 n.
 Parmenter, Jason, 203, 205, 231.
 Parsons, Eli, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229.
 Parsons, Theophilus, 117, 214.
 Parton, James, 304.
 Partridge, Ralph, original draught of his "Platform of Church Discipline," 293.
 Paschall, N., 180.
 Patch, Jonathan, 208.
 Paten, Col., 304.
 Patterson, William, 233, 242, 246, 253, 254, 256.
 Pauli, Reinhold, 75, 88, 95, 96.
 Payne, John Howard, 27.
 Payson, Rev. Edward, 11.
 Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, 33.
 Peck, Ferdinand, 34.
 Peck, William D., 187.
 Pelham, Henry, 289 n.
 Pelham, Peter, list of portraits engraved by, in the Library of the Society, 289, 290. Short account of, 289 n.
 Pelham, William, 309.
 Pepperrell, Sir William, 290, 299, 311.
 Perkins, Jacob, inventor of steel engraving, 353.
 Perkins, Rev. William, 20, 21, *ib.* n. His "Six principles of Christian religion" characterised, 15.
 Philippine Islands material in the Library of the Society, 178.
 Phillips, Ivers, 349.
 Phillips, Rev. Samuel, 11, 223, 228.
 Phips, Spencer, 311.
 Pickering, Timothy, 308.
 Pickering, William, 279.
 Pierce, Augustus, manuscript copy of *Rebelliad* by, 310.
 Pierson, Abraham, his "Some helps for the Indians," 16.
 Pillsbury, Parker, his last interview with Thoreau, 69.
 Pinckney, Gen. Charles, 242, 247, 255, 306.

- Pollock, Sir Frederick, his "English Law before the Norman Conquest," 79.
- Pomeroy, *Gen.* Seth, 306, 330.
- Portolá, Gaspar de, 29.
- Potter, *Mrs.* Sarah I., her bequest to the Society, 34.
- Potter, William, 353, 376.
- Powell, John W., death of, announced, 129.
- Pratt, John, 213-215, 217, 219, 222.
- Prentice, William, 336, 337. Facts relating to, 337 n.
- Prescott, Benjamin, 407, 408.
- Prevost, *Mrs.*, 303.
- Prevost (Provost), *Mrs.* Theodosia, letter to, from George Washington, 307. Certificate of her marriage to Aaron Burr, *ib.*
- Price, William, biographical sketch of, 175-177.
- Priestley, Joseph, 161.
- Prince, Caleb, 298.
- Prince, *Rev.* Nathan, 310.
- Prince, Thomas, 103, 290, 310.
- Pritchett, Henry S., elected a member, 3.
- Providence Public Library, 175.
- Province Bills, emission of, 310.
- Publication Committee, members of, 110.
- Publishing Fund, 166, 168.
- Putnam, Herbert, 33.
- Putnam, *Gen.* Israel, 306. His letter to Margaret Moncrieffe, 304, 305.
- Putnam, *Mrs.* Israel, 305.
- Putnam, Mary F., *see* Washburn, *Mrs.* John D.
- Putnam, Rufus, 211, 310.
- Putnam, *Miss* Ruth, 83.
- Pynchon, William, 389, 391, 402.
- Q.
- Quincy, Dorothy, 326.
- Quincy, Josiah, 108, 158, 164, 187. Cited, 162, 163.
- R.
- Randolph, Edmund, 253, 254.
- Randolph, Edward, 18.
- Randolph, John, his letter to Aaron Burr cited, 302, 303.
- Rawson, Edward, *Secretary*, 310.
- Rawson, Timothy, 216.
- Rebelliad, poem by Augustus Pierce, 310.
- Redgwayes, James, 383.
- Reed, Joseph, 247, 306, 310.
- Reed, Samuel G., 349.
- Republican party, circular calling for formation of, 348, 349.
- Reveley, William, 29, 30.
- Revere, Paul, 309.
- Revolutionary manuscripts in the Library of the Society, 308, 309.
- Reynolds, John, 404.
- Rhode Island, "Three Commonwealths, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island: their early development," paper by William B. Weedon, 130-164.
- Rice, Elizabeth, 315.
- Rice, Henry C., 317.
- Rice, Jonathan, 216-218.
- Richardson, Jacob, 208.
- Richardson, Joseph, 210.
- Rider, Sidney S., 155 n.
- Ritson, Joseph, 446.
- Rivington, James, 305.
- Robbins, Shepard K., 123.
- Robinson, *Miss* Christine E., becomes member of the Library staff, 342.
- Robinson, *Rev.* John, 130.
- Rockwell, *Gen.*, 83, 86.
- Roebling, *Mrs.* Emily W., her gift to the Society, 351.
- Rogers, *Rev.* Ezekiel, 11. Account of, 10. His "Chief grounds of Christian religion," described and cited, 16, 17.
- Rogers, Samuel, *the poet*, 310.
- Rosebery, Lord, speech by, 85, 86.
- Rou, *Rev.* Louis, search for missing manuscript of, 32.
- Ruggles, Col. Timothy, 301.
- Ruland, John, 181.
- Rule, Margaret, 295.
- Russell, Benjamin, 187.
- Russell, E. Harlow, 5. Paper by, on "A bit of unpublished correspondence between Henry D. Thoreau and Isaac T. Hecker," 58-69.
- Rust, Samuel, 203.
- Rutledge, (Rutlidge), *Gov.* John, 242, 256, 257.
- S.
- Sabin, Joseph, his "Bibliotheca Americana" cited, 31.
- Sabine, Lorenzo, his "Loyalists of the American Revolution," 337. *Ib.* cited, *ib.* n.

- St. Augustine cited, 19.
 St. Swithin, 79. Grave of, 81.
 Salisbury, *Hon. Stephen*, 319.
 Salisbury, Stephen, 1, 5, 107, 127, 273, 286. Appointed *cum al.* to represent the Society at Dr. Hale's 80th anniversary, 7. Letter to, from Horace Davis, 27. Re-elected President, 108. His tribute to J. Evarts Greene, 263. His tribute to John D. Washburn, 267.
 Salisbury Building Fund, 166, 169.
 Sampson, Deborah Gannett (Robert Shirliff), 310.
 Sanson, Nicholas, 390.
 Sargent, Joseph, 295, 318.
 Sash, Moses, indictment of, cited, 211, 212.
 Saye and Sele, *Lord*, *see* Fiennes, William.
 Schliemann, Heinrich, 53, 55.
 Schuyler, *Gen. Philip*, 306, 307, 310, 328, 329.
 Soobell, *Rev. Canon*, 451.
 Scollay, John, 297.
 Sedgefield, W. J., 79.
 Sedgwick, Theodore, 202, 244.
 Semi-annual meetings of the Society, 1, 271.
 "Several relating to the Fund," finding of, 368. Authorship and description of, 369, 370. References to, 375-383.
 Sewall, *Rev. Joseph*, 289 n., 290, 299.
 Sewall, Samuel, *Chief Justice*, 18, 299, 353.
 Shakespeare, William, 5, 105, 183, 279. Parallels in the *Tempest* and description of island of Cuttyhunk, 98-102.
 Shattuck, Job, 203, 205, 228, 231. Case of Commonwealth against, cited, 207, 208.
 Shaw, Timothy, deposition of, 219-221.
 Shaw, William S., 187.
 Shays, Daniel, 120, 216, 221, 223, 225, 226, 228, 229, 312. Correct spelling of his name, 113, *ib. n.*, 114 n. Proposed monument to, 114. Indictment against, 208-211.
 Shays's Rebellion, account of cited, 112, 113. Conditions which led to, stated by Charles Francis Adams, 114-120. "A few notes on," paper by John Noble, 200-232.
 Shea, John G., 30. Tribute to, 31.
 Sheldon, George, 404 n., 411 n., 422.
 Shepard, Thomas, 16 n.
 Shepard, Thomas, Jr., 31.
 Shepard, *Gen. William*, 228.
 Sheridan, Philip H., 351.
 Sherman, *Rev. John*, 299.
 Sherman, Roger, 163. His letter to Gen. Wooster, 306. "Connecticut Compromise. Roger Sherman the author of the plan of equal representation of the States in the Senate, and proportionate representation in the House," paper by George F. Hoar, 233-253.
 Shirliff, Robert, *see* Sampson, Deborah G.
 Short, Mercy, 295.
 Shorthand works, collection of, in the Library of the Society, 31, 32.
 Skene (Skeen), Philip, 305, 328.
 Slauson, Allan B., his letter, 343.
 Slavery, bill of sale of William Holmes, 35, 36. Deed of manumission given to Amanda Holmes, 181, 182.
 Slocum, Samuel, 210.
 Smead, David, 332 n., 334 n.
 Smibert, John, 176, 289 n., 290.
 Smith, Aaron, 210.
 Smith, Alfred, 425.
 Smith, Charles C., re-elected a member of the Committee of Publication, 110.
 Smith, Charles W., 179.
 Smith, Moses, 207, 210.
 Smith, Samuel S., *Pres. of Princeton College*, 307. His letter to Aaron Burr cited, 307.
 Smith, Lt.-Col. William, 225, 226, 229.
 Smith, William A., his gift to the Society, 179.
 Smyth, Egbert C., 1, 2. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. Paper by, on "Mary Griffin and her Creed," 9-24.
 "Société Internationale des Américanistes," 286.
 Southampton, William, *Earl*, 100.
 Southward, George, 33.
 Sparhawk, *Rev. John, senior*, 299.
 Sparhawk, *Rev. John*, 299.
 Sparks, Jared, 121, 292 n.

- Spencer, *Gen.* Joseph, 306.
 Spooner, *Mrs.* Bathsheba, papers relating to, in Library of the Society, 314, 315.
 Spooner, Joshua, 315.
 Stafford, Thomas J., 440.
 Stanton, John, 216. Deposition of, 221.
 Staples, William R., 149 n.
 Starkey, *Mrs.* Sarah, 383, 384.
 Starkie, John, 371 n., 372 n. His mortgage to the "Fund," 383, 384.
 Steamboats, list of early steamboats running from Hartford to New York, 418 n.
 Stearns, Samuel, 312.
 Stebbins, Calvin, remarks by, suggested by William B. Weedon's paper, 110-112.
 Stebbins, Daniel, 438.
 Stephen, Leslie, 277, 444. His letter to John Bellows, 447.
 Stewart, Adam D., deed of sale given by, to Amanda Holmes, 35, 36.
 Stewart, *Mrs.* Mary B., deed given by, 35, 36.
 Stiles, Joshua, letter to, 212, 213.
 Stimson, Frederic J., his "Ethics of Democracy," 131 n. *Ib.* cited, 131.
 Stockdale, J., 29.
 Stone, David, 213-215, 217, 218, 222.
 Stone, *Miss* Ellen A., her gift to the Society, 180.
 Stone, Francis, 210.
 Story, *Judge* Joseph, custom of charging the jury introduced by, 152.
 Stoughton, William, 299.
 Strong, Caleb, 202.
 Strong, Simeon, 202.
 Sturt, John, 345.
 Sullivan, *Gov.* James, 202, 207. Cited, 338.
 Sullivan, *Gen.* John, 306.
 Sullivan, John L., *engineer*, 416, 417 n., 433, 434, 439. Projector of "The Proprietors of Enfield Locks and Channels," 405. Forms the "Connecticut Steam Boat Company," 417.
 Sumner, *Hon.* Charles, 187, 248, 292 n.
 Sumner, William, 372, 375.
 Supreme Judicial Court Records cited, 206-208, 213-215.
 Surtees, Robert, 446.
 Sutro Library, *San Francisco*, 29.
 Sutton, Charles W., 443. His letters to Samuel S. Green, 444, 446.
 Sutton, *Mass.*, manuscript history of, in the Library of the Society, 292 n.
 Swan, *Capt.* Caleb, 223.
 Symmes, *Rev.* Zechariah, 11.
 T.
 Taft, Peter, 207.
 Taft, *Hon.* Russell S., cited, 36, 37.
 Taine, Hippolyte A., cited, 131.
 Talcott, Joseph, 394.
 Talcott, Matthew, 394.
 Tallmun, Molly, 315.
 Taylor, *Rev.* Jeremy, 2.
 Taylor, Zachary, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 6.
 Tenney Fund, 166, 169.
 Tennyson, Alfred, 84.
 Terry, Hiram, 435.
 Thatcher, *Col.*, 334 n.
 Thayer, Ebenezer, 118 n.
 Thayer, Nathaniel, 318.
 Thayer, Reuben, 209, 216.
 Thomas, Allen C., 272. Paper by, on "Some letters, etc., of John Hancock and Thomas Cushing," 324-340.
 Thomas, Cyrus, his gift to the Society, 32, 33.
 Thomas, Isaiah, 187, 277, 287, 296, 300, 309, 310, 314, 346. His "Diary" cited, 292. *Ms.* note by, 297. His Commission as deputy post-master, in the Library of the Society, 308. Brief account of his Diaries, 312.
 Thomas, Isaiah, *Jr.*, 187, 312.
 Thomas, *Gen.* John, 306, 330.
 Thomas, Robert B., 312.
 Thomas Local History Fund, 166, 168, 181.
 Thoreau, Henry D., 5. "A bit of unpublished correspondence between, and Isaac T. Hecker," paper by E. Harlow Russell, 58-69.
 Thornton, Timothy, 375, 384.
 Thornycroft, *Hamo, sculptor*, 73, 85.
 Ticknor, *Miss* Elizabeth G., finds a William Brewster autograph, 104, 105.
 Ticknor, *Mrs.* Olive Kendall, 105, 106.

- Tillinghast, Caleb B., 179, 332.
 Tocqueville, Alexis C. H. C. de, cited, 137, 138.
 Torrey, Ebenezer, 318.
 Treasurer, *see* Paine, Nathaniel.
 Trevelthen, Will., 388.
 Trumbull, J. Hammond, 27, 142 n., 144 n., 145 n., 154 n., 292, 322, 353, 378, 386, 395 n. Cited, 145, 391. Announcements relative to publication of his *Natick dictionary*, 129, 290. Finding by, of "Severals relating to the Fund," 368. His "First Essays at Banking in New England," 369-371.
 Trumbull, James R., his "History of Northampton," 411 n.
 Trumbull, John, 398.
 Trumbull, Gov. Jonathan, 306. Letter to, from John Hancock, 328, 329.
 Trumbull, Joseph, 330, 436.
 Tucker, William H., 430 n. His "History of Hartford, Vt.," 415 n.
 Tupper, Martin F., 71. His interest in the Millennial Celebration of birth of King Alfred, 72. His version of "True Greatness," 93, 94.
 Turner, Frederick J., 104.
 Twain, Mark, *pseud.*, *see* Clemens, Samuel L.
 Tyler, Enoch, 203.
 Tyler, Lyon G., obituary by, of William Wirt Henry, 319-321.
 Tyler, Royal, 311.
- U.
- Upham, Charles W., facts relating to publication of his "Life of Washington," 121, 347. Manuscript note by, 122.
 Upham, Henry P., 182. His gift to the Society, 30, 31.
 Usher, Hezekiah, 372, *ib. n.*, 383, 384.
 Usher, James, *Abp.*, 17.
- V.
- Van Buren, Martin, *Pres. of the U. S.*, 307.
 Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 419.
 Vanderbilt, Jacob H., 419.
 Van der Donck, Adriaen, 388. His "Description of the New Netherlands," 386 n. *Ib.* cited, 386.
 Vane, Sir Henry, 149, 160.
 Van Waters, George, his "Poetical Geography" cited, 349-351.
 Vassall, Col. John, 300.
 Vassall, William, 157.
 Verin, Joshua, 148.
 Verrazzano, Giovanni da, 318, 385.
 Vignaud, Henry, his gift to the Society, 31.
 Vinton, Alexander H., elected a member, 272.
 Vollgraff, Johann C., "Aristotle's Musical Problems," paper by James Green, 274-276. Partial list of his publications, 277.
 Vries, David P. de, 390 n. His account of sailing to "House of Hope" cited, 389, 390.
- W.
- Wadsworth, Jeremiah, 397.
 Wagener, Auguste, his connection with the edition of "Aristotle's Musical Problems," 274-276.
 Walcutt, Thomas, 187.
 Walker, Edwin S., his letters accompanying his gifts to the Society, 34, 35, 180.
 Wall, J. Charles, 75.
 Walley, John, 372.
 Walsh, Charles H., his letter, 345.
 Walton, Isaak, 2, 81.
 Wantage, England, millennial celebration of the birth of King Alfred at, 71. Description of, 72-74.
 Ward, Gen. Artemas, 228, 306, 312, 333 n. His letter to George Washington, 302.
 Ward, Rev. John, 11.
 Ward, Nathaniel, his "Simple Cocker of Agawam" cited, 159, 160.
 Warner, Maj.-Gen. Jonathan, 217, 218, 220.
 Warren, Gen. Gouverneur K., 351.
 Warren, Gen. James, 326.
 Warren, John C., 124.
 Washburn, Ebenezer, 333 n.
 Washburn, Edward R., 317.
 Washburn, Hon. Emory, 317, 318.
 Washburn, Francis, 317.
 Washburn, Israel, 316.
 Washburn, John D., 28, 272. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. Special meeting of the Council on death

- of, with tributes from Stephen Salisbury, Charles A. Chase and Samuel S. Green, 267-269. Obituary of, by Henry S. Nourse, 316-319.
- Washburn, Mrs. John D. (Mary F. Putnam), 317.
- Washburn, John M., 316.
- Washburn, Mrs. John M. (Harriet W. Kimball), 317.
- Washburn, Nehemiah, 316.
- Washington, George, 70, 88, 89, 243, 244, 258, 300, 306, 310. Life of, by Charles W. Upham, presented to the Society, 121, 122, 347. Letter to, 302. His letter to Mrs. Prevost, 307. Letters to, from John Hancock, 329-332.
- Waters, Henry F., 33.
- Waters, Joseph G., 33.
- Watson, John H., 36.
- Watson, Oliver, 210.
- Wayland, Francis, 233.
- Webb, George, 310.
- Webb, Thomas H., 347.
- Webster, Daniel, 6, 35, 244.
- Webster, Redford, 187.
- Weeden, William B., 107. Remarks on his paper by George F. Hoar, 107, 108. Re-elected a Councillor, 109. Calls attention to the work of Colonial Dames of Rhode Island, 128. With Charles A. Chase presents Report of the Council, 129. Paper by, on "Three Commonwealths, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island: their early development," 130-164. "Weekly Rehearsal," *The*, 297, *ib. n.*
- Wegelin, Oscar, his gift to the Society, 32.
- Wells, Thomas, 308.
- Wells, William, 187.
- Wells, William V., 325.
- Welsted, Rev. William, 290.
- West, John, 308.
- Weston, Gersham B., 349.
- Wheatland, Henry, 33.
- Wheeler, Adam, 209, 228.
- Wheeler, John, 203.
- Whistler, Charles W., 75.
- White, Canvass, 420.
- White, Gilbert, 80.
- White, James, 203.
- Whitmore, William H., 345. Sale of library of, 289.
- Whitney, Jonathan, 207.
- Whitney, Josiah, 34.
- Wicker, Luther, 210, 213-215, 217, 218, 220-222.
- Wilcox, Peter, Jr., 202.
- Wilder, Josiah, 315.
- Wilkin, Simon, *publisher*, 278, 279. 285, 442-444, 446, 447.
- Wilkins, Isaac, 208.
- Willard, Samuel, 160.
- William, *the Silent*, 88.
- William of Wykeham, 80-82.
- Williams, Col. Ephraim, 301.
- Williams, James, 209.
- Williams, John, 407.
- Williams, Joseph, 203.
- Williams, Roger, 108, 149-151, 155, 156, 159 *n.*, 160, 161, 163, *ib. n.*, 387 *n.* Influence of, upon Rhode Island, 147, 148, 150.
- Williams, Timothy, 187.
- Wilson, Hon. Henry, *Vice-President of the U. S.*, plaster cast of tablet in memory of, with inscription by George F. Hoar, 178, 179.
- Wilson, Hon. James, 236, 240, 250-252, *ib. n.*, 257.
- Wilson, Rev. John, 161.
- Wilson, Woodrow, 130 *n.*
- Winchester, Eng., account of, 79-82. King Alfred millennial observances in, 83-87.
- Wine, bottle of, 344, 345.
- Wingate, John, 224.
- Wingrave, F., 29.
- Winslow, Gov. Edward, 299.
- Winsor, Justin, 103, 104, 134, *ib. n.*, 385 *n.*, 388, 389 *n.*
- Winthrop, Adam, 174, 372, *ib. n.*, 383, 384.
- Winthrop, Adam (2d), 174.
- Winthrop, Adam (3d), 174.
- Winthrop, Fitz John, *Gov. of Conn.*, 353.
- Winthrop, John, *Gov. of Mass.*, 134, 136, 137 *n.*, 156 *n.*, 157 *n.*, 159, 161, 387, *ib. n.*, 389, *ib. n.* Cited 135, 137, 156-158, 390.
- Winthrop, John, *Gov. of Connecticut*, 387 *n.*, 390.
- Winthrop, Thomas L., 292 *n.*
- Winthrop, Hon. William, description of tankard presented to the Society by, 173, 174.
- Wise, John, 132. His "Vindication of the Government of New England Churches" cited, 132.

- Witt, Oliver, 219, 220. Deposition of, 221, 222.
 Wolcott, Gov. Oliver, 418, 422.
 Wollis, Benoni, 207.
 Woodbridge, Rev. John, 353. Authorship of "Severals relating to the Fund," attributed to, 369.
 Wooster, Gen. David, 310. Letters to, 305, 306.
 Worcester, Mass., manuscript material relating to, in Library of the Society, 312.
 Worcester Baptist Association, 352.
 Worcester County Centennial Celebration, 345.
 Worcester County Mechanics Association, 26.
 Worcester Free Public Library, 26.
 "Worcester Gazette and American Oracle," 314.
- Worcester Gazette Company, 181.
 Wordsworth, William, 88.
 Worthington, John, 407.
 Wright, Benjamin, 434.
 Wyllys, Samuel, 398.
- Y.
- Yale University, autograph of William Brewster in Library of, 103.
 Yates, Robert, 256.
 Young, David, case of Young v. Lamb cited, 213-215 Depositions relating to, 216-219, 221.
- Z.
- Zouche, Lord, 33.
 Zubly, Rev. John J., 332.
 Zwingli, Ulrich, 13.



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